Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-013
Tuesday
21 January 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-013 *21 January 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Alia Holds Talks With Kosovo Delegation *[ATA]* 2
Human Rights Groups Protest Border Regime *[ZERI I RINISE 28 Dec]* 2
Unionists Protest at Prime Minister's Office *[ATA]* 3
Ahmeti Meets Representatives *[ATA]* 3
General Strike Considered *[TANJUG]* 3
Workers Hold Demonstration in Tirana 17 Jan *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Journalists Protest Lack of Newspapers *[ATA]* 4
BSPSh's Xheka Criticized for 'Street Politics' *[Tirana Radio]* 4
People's Assembly Revises Public Order Bill *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Declaration on SFRY Republics Recognition *[BTA]* 6
Ganev on Macedonian Issue *[BTA]* 6
Ganev Holds Talks With Armenian Counterpart *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Ganev Departs for Washington CIS Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Government Decides To Open EC Mission in Sofia *[BTA]* 7
Ganev Meets Council of Europe General Secretary *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Vice President Semerdzhiev Submits Resignation *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Presidential TV Debate Reported *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Election Runoff 'Proceeding Calmly' *[BTA]* 9
'Minor Violations' Reported *[BTA]* 9
Expatriates Vote Actively *[BTA]* 9
Zhelev 'First Directly Elected President' *[BTA]* 9
Vulkanov Questions Election Results *[BTA]* 10
Zhelev Discusses Executive Powers *[BTA]* 10
Candidates' Political Backing Detailed *[BTA]* 10
Zhelev Outlines Future Plans, Stresses Reform *[BTA]* 11
Discusses Foreign Policy *[BTA]* 11
Questioned on National Security *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 10 Jan]* 12
President Zhelev's Victory Hailed *[BTA]* 13
Defense Minister Ludzhev Explains Army Reform *[BTA]* 13
Minister Kostov Explains Foreign Debt Issues *[DEMOKRATSIYA 11 Jan]* 13
Security Adviser Defends Army, Police Reforms *[PODKREPA 15 Jan]* 14

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Comments on Visit to Slovakia, Constitution *[Prague TV]* 16
Pithart Describes Budget Problems, Ukraine Trip *[Prague Radio]* 17
Dienstbier Rejects Changes to Joint German Treaty *[Prague Radio]* 18
Klaus Claims Czech Budget 'Slipping Into Decline' *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 16 Jan]* 18
Christian Democrats Against Havel's Draft Bill *[Prague Radio]* 19
Liberal Democrats 'Bone of Contention' Intensifies *[Prague Radio]* 19

HUNGARY

Jeszenszky Comments on Foreign Policy *[MTI]* 20

Bosnian Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks *[MTI]* 20
Jeszenszky Previews Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Recognition Central in Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 20
EC Requirements Necessary *[MTI]* 20
Foreign Ministers Interviewed *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Goncz Pleased with Meeting *[Budapest TV]* 21
Silajdzic on Positive Outcome of Talks *[TANJUG]* 22
Silajdjic Invites Goncz to Sarajevo *[MTI]* 22
Hungary Recognizes Slovenia's Independence *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Jeszenszky on Moldova, Belarus Relations *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Military Attaches for Croatia, Slovenia Suggested *[MTI]* 23
Fur Departs for Official Portuguese Visit *[MTI]* 23
Firm Denies Selling Nerve Gas to Iran *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Kadar Says Economic 'Collapse' Avoided *[MTI]* 23
Fur: Army Capable of Defending Country *[MTI]* 24
Secretary Meets Press on Privatization *[MTI]* 24
Trade With Yugoslavia Continues Despite War *[Budapest Radio]* 24
USSR Successor States Owe 2 Billion Rubles *[MTI]* 24
Foreign Minister Visits Turkey, Meets Counterpart *[cross-reference]* 24

POLAND

Former Soviet Army Group 'Subordinate' to Russia *[PAP]* 25
Walesa Discusses Team of Advisers, Price Rises *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
Mazowiecki, Bielecki on Ties With Walesa *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
Olszewski Appeals for Patience, Support *[Warsaw TV]* 26
Solidarity Leadership Debates Further Steps *[PAP]* 27
Parties Meet To Assess Price Rises, Strikes *[PAP]* 27
Protests Continue; Talks Fail *[PAP]* 28
Sejm Bodies Support Martial Law Condemnation *[PAP]* 28
New Defense Minister Discusses Policy Objectives *[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 10 Jan]* 29

ROMANIA

Government Recognizes Croatia, Slovenia 18 Jan *[Bucharest Radio]* 30
Nastase Views Decision *[TANJUG]* 30
Nastase Receives Bosnia-Hercegovina Official *[ROMPRES]* 30
Moldovan Agriculture Minister Visits 17-18 Jan 31
Talks With Stolojan *[ROMPRES]* 31
Assesses Results of Trip *[ROMPRES]* 31
Stolojan Makes Statement on Reform, Salaries *[Bucharest Radio]* 31
Holds News Conference *[Bucharest Radio]* 33

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Military District Notes Albanian Border Incident *[TANJUG]* 36
Conference Commissions Consult on EC Recognition *[TANJUG]* 36

Federal

Brovet Briefs Assembly on UN Forces Deployment *[Belgrade Radio]* 36
Parliament Prepares 'New Yugoslavia' Concept *[TANJUG]* 37
Official Praises U.S., Russia, PRC 'Restraint' *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Maksic Views Impact of Changes in Europe *[TANJUG]* 38
General Raseta Says Army's Role 'Unchanged' *[TANJUG]* 38
Observers' Report Levels Accusations at JNA *[TANJUG]* 39
Secretariat Calls Report 'Bogus' *[TANJUG]* 39
Capacity of JNA Missile Systems Assessed *[VJESNIK 29 Dec]* 39
Federal Foreign Exchange Reserves 'Indivisible' *[TANJUG]* 41
TANJUG Journalists Respond to Criticism *[TANJUG]* 41

Slovenia

Kucan, Italy's Cossiga Sign Diplomatic Protocol *[Ljubljana Radio]* 42
Rupel Says Ties With Croatia 'Difficult' *[TANJUG]* 42
Kucan: Recognition Does Not Solve Our Problems *[TANJUG]* 42

Croatia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Italy *[TANJUG]* 42
Hungary's Leaders Write Tudjman on Recognition *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Tudjman Hosts Diplomatic Reception; Seeks Help *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Separovic: Existing Borders 'Sacred', 'Inviolable' *[TANJUG]* 43
Government Appoints Commissioners for Serb Areas *[TANJUG]* 44
Supreme Council Discusses Election Preparations *[Zagreb Radio]* 44
Krajina To Accept UN Plan Only If JNA Stays *[TANJUG]* 44
Krajina's Court President: UN Agreement 'Invalid' *[TANJUG]* 44
Babic Denies Meeting Milosevic; Views Relations *[TANJUG]* 45
Babic: UN Plan Will Fail 'Without Our Consent' *[TANJUG]* 45
Calls for Investigation *[TANJUG]* 46
Krajina Seeks 'Common State' of Serb Republics *[TANJUG]* 46
Army Colonel Swears To Defend Against 'Ustashas' *[TANJUG]* 47
Slavonia Will Recognize Croatian 'Ethnic Borders' *[TANJUG]* 47
Baranja Commander Sees No Cease-Fire, Progress *[TANJUG]* 47
Cease-Fire Violations Reported, Protests Lodged 47
Croatian Forces Shell Beli Manastir *[TANJUG]* 47
'Serious' Violation in Nova Gradiska *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
'No Peace' in Baranja *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
'Provocations' Intensify in W. Slavonia *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
JNA Attacked Near Vinkovci *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Croatian Reinforcements Reported *[TANJUG]* 48
JNA Protests Attacks *[TANJUG]* 49
Croatian Army Protests JNA Violations *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
Explosions in Karlovac Investigated *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
Kordun Attack From Bosnia Alleged *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Republic 'Mostly Quiet' 20 Jan *[TANJUG]* 50
Daily Says Recognition Alters Conflict's Character *[TANJUG]* 50
Poll Indicates Majority Against Law on 'Serbs' *[DANAS 10 Dec]* 51

Serbia

Serbian National Renewal Threatens Violence *[TANJUG]* 51
Draskovic Views Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia *[Paris LE MONDE 17 Jan]* 52
Commentary Views Consequences of EC Recognition *[Belgrade Radio]* 52
Belgrade Radio Reports on 'Albanization' of Kosovo 53

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegvic Comments on Referendum, Recognition *[TANJUG]* 53
Izetbegovic, JNA View Civilian-Military Issues *[TANJUG]* 54
Defense Ministry Condemns Forced Mobilization *[Sarajevo Radio]* 54
Interior Ministry Also Opposed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 55
Sarajevo Command Responds *[TANJUG]* 55
Koljevic, JNA, North Bosnia Serbs Hold Talks *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
Shooting 'Unofficially' Reported in Trebinje *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
HDZ Plans for 'Unification' With Croatia Viewed *[POLITIKA 26 Dec]* 55

Macedonia

Government Welcomes Bulgarian Recognition *[TANJUG]* 57
Kljusev Views Monetary Separation, JNA 'Issues' *[TANJUG]* 57
JNA Expected To End Presence as 'Guest' 31 Jan *[TANJUG]* 57

EC Political Differences 'Hampered' Independence *[Belgrade Radio]* 57

Montenegro

Defense Ministry Denies War With Croatia *[TANJUG]* 59
Bulatovic Addresses Parliament on Referendum *[TANJUG]* 59

Yugoslavia

Federal Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksic told Belgrade Radio that the "behavior" of the United States, Russia, and the PRC—on the basis of their official statements—has prompted Yugoslavia to give them credit for "prudence" in not recognizing the secessionist republics in Yugoslavia.

Serbia—TANJUG reports that the Serbian National Renewal [SNO] in the Republic of Serbia has threatened "to resort to violence" if a state recognizes the sovereignty of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina within their administrative borders.

Bosnia-Hercegovina—The Sarajevo Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Command issued a statement today "refuting" claims by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Defense Ministry that the JNA "recruitment campaign" in the republic is "illegal", TANJUG reports. The statement also says that "republican bodies are not qualified to adopt such decisions" on military recruitment.

Bulgaria

BTA reports that incumbent President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev will be Bulgaria's first directly elected president. In a runoff election on 19 January, initial polling results show Zhelev receiving 53 percent of the votes edging out independent candidate Velko Vulkanov.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a declaration on the recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina saying that it is ready "to respect the present borders and the lack of territorial claims against any other state", BTA reports. Foreign Minister Ganev told BTA that the decision "is in compliance with the requirements for European thinking" and pointed out that the recognition of Macedonia "need not be an obstacle" to the development of bilateral relations with Greece.

Poland

On 17 January, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski, government press spokesman, told PAP that the stationing and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland "seems to have been subordinated" to Russia's authorities. Petr Stoyanov, a military attache in the Russian Embassy in Warsaw, said that the subordination of the Northern Group of the former Soviet Army has not yet been determined, PAP reported. A Polish delegation is departing for Moscow on 21 January to discuss the withdrawal of the Northern Group.

Romania

The Romanian Government officially recognized the independence of Croatia and Slovenia on 18 January and announced its readiness to establish diplomatic relations, Bucharest Radio reports. However, Foreign Minister Nastase told TANJUG on 20 January that "Romania has not changed its stand on some controversial questions in Yugoslavia's crisis, such as the question of borders." The government's decision to recognize the republics was not based on pressure, Nastase said, but "an explicit request by Slovenia and Croatia."

Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan held a news conference on 20 January, carried on Bucharest Radio, to discuss reforms and salaries. He stated that "the fixed points of the transition to the market economy must be attained regardless of the political party that will win the elections or the coalition of parties that will make up the government." On salaries Stolojan said: "The year 1992 is another step forward in eliminating all individual salary limits, and the real possibility exists that each person... will act clearly for the increase of productivity that should ensure a rise in the salary level."

Alia Holds Talks With Kosovo Delegation

LD1801120192 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—On January 17 afternoon, the president of the Republic of Albania Ramiz Alia received at the Palace of Brigades the delegation of the Republic of Kosovo, which at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Albania, is paying a visit to our country. They discussed the current situation in Albania and the issue of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

The members of the delegation briefed President Ramiz on the recent developments in Kosovo and other regions inhabited by the Albanians. The Albanians have already expressed their will by democratic means, as the referendums held in Kosovo and Macedonia. They ask about nothing but to take in their hands their destiny.

President Ramiz Alia said that for a long period of time the Republic of Albania has abided by the principle to defend the Albanians' rights in Yugoslavia within the community of the former Yugoslav Federation. We have done this on behalf of non interference in the internal affairs of a state which was a known subject of the international law. Yugoslavia has stopped existing as such. Under these circumstances we interfere in the affairs of no one in case we demand for the Albanians all the national and human rights and freedoms, which belong to a big and homogenous national community as the Albanians living there.

Europe, said the president further on, recognized the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia. But it has not yet declared itself for the other units of former Yugoslavia. What will be done with Kosovo and the other Albanians beyond the state border. Will Europe [word indistinct] them in their fate? We will raise the voice not to neglect the issue of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, because this problem thrown into oblivion does not contribute to the peaceful and democratic solution the world is involved in by the end of this century. Neither in the first nor in second Yugoslavia had the Albanians the possibility to realize their national being and consciousness. On the contrary, they experienced oppression and discrimination. A third Yugoslavia is righteously imagined by them as a danger.

On the other hand, said the president further on, the solution of the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, being a question of our whole nation, is a sacred aspiration to all the Albanians wherever they are, with no party, regional, ideological or religious [passage indistinct] monopoly of any individual or political force in [words indistinct]. The members of the delegation of the Republic of Kosovo thanked President Ramiz Alia for the fraternal reception and warm conversation he had with them and wished him quick recovery.

Human Rights Groups Protest Border Regime

AU2001114792 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 28 Dec 91 p 1

[Statement signed by Arben Puto, chairman of the Human Rights Forum; Zenun Celaj, secretary of the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms; Gazmend Pula, chairman of the Kosovo Helsinki Committee; and Milaim Fejziu, chairman of the Democratic Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms in Macedonia, issued in Tirana and Pristina on 24 December]

[Text] The Human Rights Forum of the Republic of Albania, the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Kosovo Helsinki Committee, and the Democratic Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms in Gostivar express their deep concern at and strongly condemn the flagrant violations of the fundamental right and freedom of freedom of movement that are still committed between the territories of the former Yugoslav Federation and the Republic of Albania and that affect and seriously discriminate against the Albanian population on both sides of the border between the two states.

This is the only border in Europe on which the once Yugoslav and now mainly Serbian authorities still kill people, Albanians, whose only crime is to attempt to cross the border. Thousands of Albanian families, mothers and children, brothers and sisters, and grandparents and grandchildren have been most cruelly separated from one another for more than four decades because of this inhuman practice that has denied Albanians even the briefest communication or meeting. The Serbian authorities take away the passports of Albanians from Kosovo who have been able to enter Albania through other states, thus denying them their right of free movement.

Such a restrictive and repressive practice is a serious challenge to the new European order based on humane values. United Europe cannot be indifferent to the tragic fates of entire families.

We also express our deep concern at the survival in Kosovo and other territories of the former Yugoslav Federation of the Stalinist relic of the Law on the Visits and Movements of Foreigners, which demands the registration of where all foreign citizens in these territories are staying and their movements. This law is a flagrant violation of the right to the free movement of all foreign citizens as laid down in the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter, and other conventions and documents for the protection of human rights, which the former Yugoslavia also signed.

On the basis of these easily proved facts, we call on the governments of all the CSCE and UN member-states and all international human rights organizations to intervene with the authorities of the former Yugoslav Federation in order to bring a fast end to these unacceptable

practices that are against the spirit characterizing relations between states today and against international human rights documents. We also call on the authorities of the Republic of Albania to take measures to further facilitate visits from Albanians living beyond the border.

Unionists Protest at Prime Minister's Office

LD1901100492 Tirana ATA in English 0911 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—On January 18 before noon too, independent trade unionists of the enterprises of the capital gathered in "Scanderbeg" Square persisting in the solution of the 8 demands forwarded to the government. Having waited from some hours to get the answer from the meeting being held with representatives of ITUA [Independent Albanian Trade Unions], the prime minister and other government officials, which started at 9.00, the crowd of people headed to the front of prime minister's office. There they stayed till 13.20 chanting different slogans.

Having learned of the undesirable results for fixing the timelimit for the fulfilment of their 8 demands, the participants raised tension. Under these conditions it was decided to establish once again contacts with the government conducting another round of talks, which was held. But the second meeting too brought nothing new. In order to define the attitute of the ITUA after the arisen situation, the chairmen of the trade union council of the enterprises of Tirana gathered. They decided to convene the meeting of the Union of Independent Trade Unions.

Following the shouts of the officials of the Union of Independent Trade Unions, the crowd of people left quietly .

Ahmeti Meets Representatives

LD1901102892 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—In the meeting Premier Vilson Ahmeti and some other ministers had on January 18 with representatives of the executive committee of the independent trade unions, the government gave the following answer to the demands forwarded to it by the UITUA [Independent Albanian Trade Union].

Regarding the demand for the indexation of the wages in relation to the price rises, the government's answer was that the prices of the main food items will not change. Within January the government will submit to the People's Assembly the draft-law "on the wages" which is sent also to the trade unions for giving their opinion. With the approval of this law, they will see to the indexation of the wages in the framework of the prices' liberalization.

As to the reaching of the collective contracts the government's answer was that these contracts will be reached with the fulfillment of the respective legislation, a part of which is also the law on the wages.

Regarding the other demand forwarded in the petition of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions, which has to do with some remarks about the law on the enterprises and trade unions, it said that the trade unions should forward these remarks to the government to submit them to the People's Assembly, which has the competences to make the changes demanded.

Another point of the demands forwarded was also that of suspension of the law of social assistance. The government's answer was that by instruction of the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Labour and Social Assistance has sent a special orientation that the assistance will be applied after the election of the administrative councils, leading organs, after reaching collective contracts with the trade unions and individual ones with the working people. The working people will not come out in assistance for lack of the raw material. Meanwhile, for such groups of working people, as those of the state administration, who have come out unemployed due to its reorganisation, for the working people that have come out superfluous due to the privatisation in the sectors of trade, public services, PTT, for the higher specialists of agriculture, for the former political prisoners unemployed and for any other category, the assistance will be applied according to the laws in power.

As to the ensurance of the raw materials, it said that a part of them has began to come, as those which are given by credits from the Italian Government. Intensive talks are being conducted with the European Community to ensure an aid to this end. In the same way it is being acted also with some other countries.

Regarding the ensurance of constant lighting in the major cities, the government's answer was that, measures are adopted for sensitive improvements by the end of this month. To this end a number of transformers are imported and have begun to come. Hence contract is made to ensure the oil for them, a number of oil-stoves for heating and the necessary quantity of oil and the supply with import coal has started.

Concerning the concern expressed regarding the stabilization of the public order and the ensurance of tranquillity the government's answer was that it has adopted and will adopt a series of measures. The organs of order are and will be provided with supplement (?effective) and the necessary means and technique.

In important social and economic centers police posts are erected and special units are set up to restore order and tranquility.

General Strike Considered

LD1901101192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0914 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Ohrid, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—After a two-day rally of several thousand workers and students in Tirana's

Central Square and unsuccessful talks with Prime Minister Vilson Ahmeti, the Council of the Independent Trade Unions has threatened to call a general strike in the country.

Albanian TV last night reported that the government had turned down the deadlines for the meeting of the worker demands. The president of the independent trade unions has said that the workers have set minimal demands and practically demand only bread for themselves and their families and peace and stability in the country. The president of the independent trade unions said he would know on Sunday if and when the general strike would be organized.

Similar protests have in the meantime been staged in a number of other towns in Albania.

Workers Hold Demonstration in Tirana 17 Jan

LD1801121292 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 2230 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] About 20,000 working people of Tirana rallied on 17 January at the Central Square of the capital where they held a meeting in support of the demands presented to the government by the Independent Syndicate Union of Albania since 16 December last year, for which not a single reply has been given yet.

The chairman of the Executive Committee of this union Mr. Valer Xheka in his speech stressed that the Independent Syndicate Union of Albania will resist through all democratic means, so that the most important demands of the workers get a positive reply and are (?recognised) by the government.

Among the principal demands of the workers are the implementation of a social assistance law, the reviewing of the laws on the enterprises, the signing of a collective labor contract, the indexation of wages in conformity with the price increase of the food articles of the package [as heard], and an end be put to the speculations made by the businessmen who up until recently had been masters of the political state power.

The different orators who took the floor at the rally, (?celebrated) the role of the independent trade unions in the eradication of Communism and the establishment of democracy. They made evident their determination to fight for the protection of their demands.

The rally was also addressed by representatives of the former political prisoners, by representatives of the Albanian Islamic community, by representatives of the Albanian Democratic Party, and others.

The organizers of the rally, after saying to those present that in the afternoon of that day they were going to have a contact with the Prime Minister Vilson Ahmeti and some members of his cabinet, informed that such a similar rally was going to be organized on 18 January.

Journalists Protest Lack of Newspapers

AU1901151592 Tirana ATA in English 1029 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—The Journalists' League of Albania organised an activists' meeting with the participation of the journalists from various press organs, ATA and Radio-TV.

In his speech, the chairman of the Journalists' League of Albania, Arben Kallamata, after pointing out the functioning of the league and its hitherto work, pointed to some tasks it is faced with in the future. At present, he said, the league numbers about 200 members out of 115 it had at the beginning, and its ranks are expected to further increase. The report and contributions laid stress on the affirmation of the Journalists' League as an all-national organisation, the tasks it is faced with to reach agreements with organisations of neighbouring countries and of Europe. Likewise in the meeting they treated of the problem of the newspapers' suspension and decided to compile a protest for the lack of press, which does great harm to democracy in Albania. Particular importance was attached to the genuine mirroring of the life on the part of the journalists, despite their political convictions. Likewise they aired the view that this league can and must play also the role of a trade union to defend the rights of the journalists.

BSPSh's Xheka Criticized for 'Street Politics'

AU2101091992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] As our correspondent Sokol Perihati reports, a district aktiv of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BSPSh] met in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture today. Chairmen of the trade unions in ministries, enterprises, and institutions and representatives of the trade unions in mining, industry, and transportation attended.

Halil Laze began by talking about the eight demands submitted to the government on 16 December and reported on the BSPSh representatives' two meetings with the prime minister and other members of the government.

Vangjel Kozmaj, editor-in-chief of the newspaper SINDIKALISTI, read out a personal statement in which he criticized Valer Xheka, chairman of the BSPSh Executive Committee, for pursuing street politics and accused him of premeditated behavior intended to obstruct democratic processes and to destroy the BSPSh. In a spirit of debate, the aktiv discussed the problems of the Tirana rallies of 17 and 18 January, the work of the Presidium of the District Managing Committee, etc. Many speakers criticized the conduct of the rallies, calling them harmful to democracy and inclined to lead to the postponement of the elections. They raised problems concerning the organization's centralization and the qualifications of trade unionists. They said that orders should no longer be handed down from above and

demanded that the government fulfill the demands submitted to it by a certain time, etc.

Gezim Kalaja, chairman of the BSPSh Tirana District Managing Committee, after enlarging on the development of the BSPSh as an organization based on workers' interests, spoke about the work of this committee's Presidium. Regarding the organization of the rallies, he said that we first asked for a meeting with the government; however, we held rallies after pressure from the BSPSh Executive Committee. He asked the Tirana organization to no longer recognize the BSPSh Executive Committee and its Chairman Valer Xheka, who has pushed aside the Initiating Commission for the creation of the BSPSh, and, although without a mandate, has held new elections and usurped the place of the BSPSh leadership, etc.

The aktiv decided to continue to insist on the fulfillment of the eight demands, earlier elections, and the organization of a national conference on elections, and voted unanimously not to declare a strike.

People's Assembly Revises Public Order Bill

AU2001202992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The People's Assembly began its work this afternoon with the discussion and approval of the Bill on the Forces for the Reestablishment of Public Order. Discussing the bill, representatives of the parliamentary groups said that they approved it in principle but reserved the right to make criticisms and suggestions on individual articles.

On behalf of the Democratic Party's parliamentary group, Deputy Arben Imami asked the Presidency of the People's Assembly to take measures to bring the new electoral law before the parliament to enable the elections to be held on 1 March, the date suggested by the president. He also asked for the Bill on the Disarmament of civilians to be included on the agenda. To prevent the entry into the new People's Assembly of deputies who were informers for the State Security Service, he considers it necessary to approve a bill on the vetting of the characters of political and state personalities.

Many deputies asked for the floor in the course of the session and expressed their views for or against the approval of the Bill on the Forces for the Reestablishment of Public Order. Opposition deputies insisted on the bill not being considered in the form in which it was submitted, because it is antidemocratic. As Deputy Hajdari insisted, this is a fascist law that calls for the overthrow of the constitutional order by force. Some Socialist Party deputies stressed that if this bill is in accordance with European legislation, it must be examined; if it is not, specialists and the relevant commissions must make the necessary corrections and resubmit it to the parliament for approval.

Other Socialist Party deputies favored the approval of the bill, and even asked for the Pension Bill to be also included on the agenda on the basis of the demand made by 51 deputies of this parliamentary group.

On behalf of the Commissions on Defense, Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service, Deputy Lutfi Dautllari said that the commissions had important criticisms and suggestions to make during the discussion of the article, and that work must start. Aleksander Meksi, deputy chairman of the Presidency then ended the first session.

After the recess, the session's chairman said that, on the basis of the speeches in the previous session, the Commissions on Defense, Public Order, and Human Rights, the Legal Commission, and their respective specialists must again examine the bill on the Forces for the Reestablishment of Public Order and that the bill must be resubmitted to parliament for approval.

Deputies are now discussing the Bill on the Policing of Buildings. Dear listeners, we now end our live broadcast from the hall of the People's Assembly.

Declaration on SFRY Republics Recognition

AU1701213492 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—With the recognizing of the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Hercegovina the Bulgarian Government declared once again its readiness to respect the present borders and the lack of territorial claims against any other state, says a declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The declaration points out that Bulgaria's Government seeks to develop good relations with all other countries and, at the first place, with its neighbours. It is Bulgaria's special duty and responsibility in Europe not to cause problems but to contribute to their settlement in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian Government accepted the EC approach for equal treatment of the Yugoslav republics and the criteria for their recognition, taking into consideration the position of the arbitration board. The future steps in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations will be in line with the decisions within the EC, the declaration points out.

Ganev on Macedonian Issue

AU1701171992 Sofia BTA in English 1634 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Addressing parliament and talking to a BTA reporter today, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, minister of foreign affairs, said that there were two essential elements in the decision of the Bulgarian Government to recognize Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

One element is that Bulgaria recognizes the right to state self-determination of the people living in the Yugoslav republics. "This is a principle which we cannot but recognize, it is an international principle," Mr. Ganev told BTA. "After a people did it by a referendum—and the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia did so—we have reason both with respect to Slovenia and Croatia and to Macedonia to recognize the people's right to live in an independent state," Mr. Ganev said.

The other element of the Bulgarian Government's decision was reaffirming the unalterability of the borders of those republics with the neighbouring states, including the borders between Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia. "This is an expression of a complete renunciation of territorial claims on the part of Bulgaria," Mr. Ganev told parliament.

If the Bulgarian Government's decision is interpreted correctly in Greece, I think that our relations will improve rather than sour," Mr. Ganev told BTA. "Bulgaria and Greece have no alternative but to live like good neighbours and friends because this does not depend on individual civil servants but depends on the people who live in these countries."

In his statement before parliament Mr. Ganev made it explicitly clear that "the establishment of further relations between Bulgaria and the four Yugoslav republics will depend or will be the result of the decisions of the European Community. '

Mr. Ganev believes that the Bulgarian Government's decision to recognize the four Yugoslav republics is in compliance with the requirements for European thinking. He told parliament that the Bulgarian Government is ready to make everything possible to pursue its friendly relations with the neighbouring states. Concerning the relations with Greece, Mr. Ganev said that they should not depend on certain differences in the positions. He described as an important result of his recent visit to Greece "the conclusion reached by the two countries' foreign ministers that the differences between Bulgaria and Greece on the recognition of Macedonia need not be an obstacle to the development of our bilateral relations."

Ganev Holds Talks With Armenian Counterpart

AU1801190792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Today Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and his Armenian counterpart Rafi Ovannisian, who is on a two-day visit to Bulgaria, discussed prospects for developing relations between Bulgaria and the Republic of Armenia in the political, economic, and cultural areas, the future for bilateral tourism, and the situation of the Armenian colony in Bulgaria.

Ganev explained in detail Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans, particularly the recognition of the independence of the four former Yugoslav republics. The Armenian foreign minister stated his positive view regarding this step, which explicitly demonstrated Bulgaria's respect for human rights. Ovannisian considered that the Bulgarian approach toward the former Yugoslav republics might help resolve the difficult problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, for example. In his view, the will of the population there, freely expressed in a referendum, should be respected by the international community.

Following the talks it became clear that Bulgaria is ready to open an embassy in Yerevan and begin preparations for a direct airline service between Bulgaria and Armenia.

Ganev Departs for Washington CIS Conference

AU2101093792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev has departed for Washington at the personal invitation of the secretary of state of the United States, James Baker. The minister

will take part in the 22-23 January conference on the coordination of aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Representatives from the community and 54 countries have been invited. They will explore the possibilities of aid in five working groups: on food, medicaments, housing construction, energy resources, and technical help.

The idea, expressed in the letter of the U.S. Secretary of State to Minister Ganev, is for support to be given to the democratic and reforming forces in the commonwealth.

Bulgaria's participation in the conference is connected with expectations for our country to be included in one of the aid systems, for example housing construction.

Government Decides To Open EC Mission in Sofia

AU1701230592 Sofia BTA in English 2059 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Today the government decided on the opening of a EC mission in Sofia. Ms. Lea Cohen, Bulgaria's ambassador to the EC, was authorized to negotiate and to sign an agreement on the mission's opening. Under the agreement, each of the EC countries have legal personality in Bulgaria the EC will have the right to conclude contracts, to acquire movable and immovable property and to refer to the judicature. The members of the mission's staff and their families will be granted diplomatic immunity.

Ganev Meets Council of Europe General Secretary

AU1901192392 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] On 19 January at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the first talk between Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, and Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev took place.

The situation in the Balkans and recognition of the former Yugoslav Republics were discussed in detail. Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere pointed out that the idea of Bulgaria in the Council of Europe is becoming ever more positive, and there is reason to observe with ever growing attention and respect the democratic development n Bulgaria.

Minister Stoyan Ganev clarified Bulgaria's attitude toward recognizing the republics in our western neighbor, which declared their independence. He explained our position and Bulgaria's efforst to join the European structures by assuming responsibility about the security and stability in the region vis-a-vis Europe.

Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere stressed that it is in the interest of all Balkan peoples to enter a period of stability. She highly assessed the clear and realistic positions and flexible position toward the Yugoslav crisis formulated by Minister Ganev and expressed her satisfaction with the moderate and constructive role Bulgaria has in the Balkans.

Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere pointed out that upon her return she will inform the Council of Europe in detail about Bulgaria's policy on those issues.

Vice President Semerdzhiev Submits Resignation

AU1701211692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

["Text" of declaration submitted by Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev on 17 January—read by announcer]

[Text] [Announcer] At the end of today's parliamentary session, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev appeared in the hall and asked for the floor, which, however, is in contradiction with the text of the Constitution. It was clarified that Mr. Semerdzhiev intends to hand in his resignation to the National Assembly, but according to law the resignation of a president or vice president of the republic must be submitted to the Constitutional Court.

Following a sharp exchange between the leaders of the two parliamentary groups, Aleksandur Yordanov from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and Mrs. Nora Ananieva from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the vice president was not admitted to the rostrum in the parliamentary hall.

We are now reading to you the text of the statement that Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev wished to read to parliament today, which was subsequently submitted to BTA:

On the eve of the second round of elections tension in our country is growing. This reminds us of the fateful days of June 1990. The ghost of civil war is even evoked. I ask myself who needs this? Why is confusion spread among the people?

Is it admissible to create a situation that recalls the old fairy tale about the chieftain who said: There is something I do not want to ask you, but your answer should be yes.

As vice president I am convinced of something that even the president would not deny: Neither the Armed Forces, nor the organs of security and public order are likely be involved in anticonstitutional acts. What part of the 6.7 million voters in our country would follow political extremists, regardless of whether they are rightwing or leftwing extremists. The country will have a president next Sunday. However, who is going to remove the poisonous weeds, the seeds of which we are now sowing? Democracy cannot be put around someone's neck like a chain. It is either for everyone, or it does not exist. There is no democracy only for the chosen. This was the case in the past. Are we trying to revive this? Let the voters vote

in peace and according to their conscience. Whoever is elected, there will not be a civil war, Mr. Semerdzhiev declares.

Presidential TV Debate Reported

AU1701210192

[Editorial Report] Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 17 January carries a live 75-minute debate between presidential candidates Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who is acting president, and Velko Vulkanov, who is running as an independent candidate with the support of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The candidates are to compete in the second round of elections scheduled to take place on 19 January 1992. The debate is carried simultaneously by Bulgarian National Television.

The television moderator, [name indistinct], announces that each candidate will have 3 minutes to introduce himself. Zhelyu Zhelev opens with a brief introduction of his family background and his career.

Velko Vulkanov begins his introductory statement by stressing that he is an "independent" candidate, but he is grateful to the BSP, and it is "a compliment" for him to be supported by a party that has really renewed itself. He also tells Zhelev that he owes his presidential post to the BSP, because he was elected the first time by parliament with the support of the BSP deputies.

The moderator interrupts by saying that after the introductions each candidate is entitled to ask questions of his opponent and gives the floor to Zhelev for the first question.

Zhelev asks Vulkanov why he did not publish his own platform and whether this is due to the fact that he shares the platform of the BSP.

Vulkanov's answer is totally indistinct.

Vulkanov later asks Zhelev why he has endorsed the slogan Democracy or Communism in view of the fact that his opponent is not a communist and the communist system no longer exists.

Zhelev replies that "the old structures and mechanisms of the totalitarian economy" have not disappeared and the "economic nomenklatura," which still exists, "precisely represents communism." He is frequently interrupted by Vulkanov, who appears increasingly nervous. He then asks Vulkanov whether he does not feel embarrassed about declaring his independence while being entirely supported by the BSP.

Vulkanov energetically denies this and states that the BSP often supported the team of former presidential candidate Blagovest Sendov and his running mate, Ognyan Saparev, during the campaign. He insists that he is an "independent in spirit." He then reproaches Zhelev for concealing the support of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and his "pro-Turkish orientation."

The debate becomes heated and the two candidates are interrupted by the moderator, who remarks that there are still numerous questions to be discussed. The moderator then asks President Zhelev whether he would like the debate "to proceed in this manner", to which he replies in the negative. The debate continues with Vulkanov asking whether "the party of Ahmed Dogan [DPS] is also a democratic party."

Zhelev asks Vulkanov in turn how he intends to "unify the Bulgarian people," to which Vulkanov replies that Zhelev is dividing people into "bad and good guys" and into parties, which virtually incites them to "civil war."

Vulkanov stresses that he has nothing against the Turks as individuals. He says they are "nice and industrious people," whom he has lived among for a long time.

Zhelev then asks Vulkanov why he has recommended that his voters vote for any candidate but Zhelev and Dimitrova.

Vulkanov then accuses the president and the SDS of totalitarianism, claiming that "there are no real debates in parliament" and the "government is working conspiratorially, no one knows what it is doing." He complains about the enormous increase in the crime rate and accuses Zhelev of encouraging students to go on strike and organize sit-ins. He states that the police are not capable of coping with the situation and accuses Zhelev of not exercising his powers properly.

The moderator then interrupts the debate, saying that the candidates should not constantly interrupt each other, and gives the floor to Zhelev. Zhelev begins by saying that he is acting according to the law. But is again interrupted by Vulkanov, who denies that Zhelev is observing the laws and the new Constitution. After this, the moderator asks the two candidates to make "more general statements" on their election platforms without going too much into details.

Vulkanov criticizes the media in general and the television, including foreign commentators, such as those of the German newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, for example. The paper recently claimed that Vulkanov's victory would be dangerous for Bulgaria. He is interrupted by the moderator, who gives the floor to Zhelev.

Zhelev expresses gratitude to his voters and to his running mate, Mrs. Dimitrova. He stresses the importance of the elections and the necessity of establishing a market economy. He expresses his concern about the delay in political changes and economic reforms. He stresses that all people in Bulgaria, young and old, "are all expecting the market economy," he says.

Vulkanov then excitedly protests, saying "you are not doing anything," and that parliament is not working properly. He says he is convinced that the foreign investors have "no confidence in our country's economic stability."

The moderator then declares that the end of broadcasting time is approaching. Vulkanov replies that the candidates have not yet discussed important subjects, such as national security, agriculture, culture, and so forth. The moderator, however, insists that the allotted time is up and announces the end of debate, at which time the broadcast ends.

Election Runoff 'Proceeding Calmly'

AU1901134492 Sofia BTA in English 0946 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Millions of Bulgarians are going to the polls today to take part in the second round of the presidential elections. The contenders are Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, 57, a philosopher, and lawyer Velko Vulkanov, 65.

At the first round last Sunday Dr. Zhelev, who is supported by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and many extraparliamentary parties, won 44.58 percent of the vote. Mr. Vulkanov, who is supported by the opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party, polled 30.47 percent.

The second round is proceeding calmly throughout the country. At some places the polling process has been impeded by certain organizational and technical problems. However, there have been no reports of serious incidents or violations of the law and public order.

'Minor Violations' Reported

AU1901134692 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—"By noon about 20 percent of Bulgarian voters have cast their ballots," Ms. Ralitsa Negentsova, spokeswoman for the Central Electoral Commission, told the national television.

The turn-out of voters was largest in the town of Pleven (northern Bulgaria)—30 or 35 percent and smallest in Blagoevgrad (southwestern Bulgaria)—16 percent.

Colonel Milcho Bengarski, director of the police, told the national television that the polling process is normal. There have been certain minor violations of the law in Sofia, Razgrad and several other towns where leaflets in support of one of the two candidates were circulated. The incidents were reported to the authorities which took the necessary measures, according to Mr. Bengarski.

Expatriates Vote Actively

AU1901165992 Sofia BTA in English 1634 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—In most of the constituencies the turn-out of voters exceeded 60 percent by 6 p.m. [1600 GMT]. The poll was heaviest in the regions of Razgrad, Dobrich and Kurdzhali—70 to 72 percent. The turn-out in the major administrative centres such as Plovdiv, Burgas and Pleven was little below 70 percent, in Sofia—62 percent and in Kyustendil—65 percent. Reports from abroad show that expatriots are again taking an active part in the election process.

Zhelev 'First Directly Elected President'

AU1901193492 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev will be Bulgaria's first directly elected president. According to vote tabulations, he collected 53 percent of the vote. Sociologists say the margin is steadying. The Central Electoral Commission reported that polling is over around the country. Two teams conducting parallel vote counts, BSSI [Bulgarian Social Studies Institute] and the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections, announced similar projections, giving Dr. Zhelev and Mrs. Dimitrova the lead.

Bulgaria will be run by a philosopher and a poetess in the next five years. The candidates of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces won the elections in the second round of voting.

Dr. Zhelev is the first Bulgarian president to be elected by direct popular vote. Up to now he was the first non-communist Bulgarian president. He was elected on August 1, 1990 by the socialist-dominated Grand National Assembly. His quick reaction to the attempted coup in Moscow last August, his categorical stand on the Gulf war and his accurate assessment of the events in disintegrating Yugoslavia made him very popular.

The 56-year-old philosopher was an outstanding dissident under the communist regime. He was sent into internal exile and dismissed for his criticism against the official communist ideology. The former State Security kept him under surveillance, his book "Fascism," analyzing the totalitarian society, was banned and seized from bookshops and libraries. Dr. Zhelev was among the founders of the first opposition organizations under the communist regime. He was the first leader of the now ruling Union of Democratic Forces. During his first term as president he did not avail himself of any privileges: He still rents a small two-room flat and gives one-third of his salary to an orphanage. His wife is a documentary script-writer. They have two daughters.

"The political and economic reforms should be effected without delay, Bulgaria should attract investment. If we manage to do this, I believe that Bulgaria will catch up with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the next few years and keep abreast of them," Dr. Zhelev told the BTA.

Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova, 70, the new Bulgarian vice president, was a popular dissident. Her poems have been translated in Germany, the United States, Britain, France and Russia. She is known for her uncompromising views. Ms. Dimitrova has written over twenty books of poems, novels, essays and plays. She has never

been a Communist Party member. "Zhelyu and I were always together at the decisive moments on the road to democracy, and I think we got into the habit of taking risks together," she said in an interview recently. "Poetry and politics have something in common—a sense of proportion: Where politics misses the mark, culture comes in handy," the new Bulgarian vice president believes. Her husband, Mr. Yordan Vasilev is a literary critic, MP of the Union of Democratic Forces. During the Vietnam War they adopted a Vietnamese orphan.

Vulkanov Questions Election Results

AU2001073292 Sofia BTA in English 2212 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—"The elections showed that the Bulgarian people is ripe for democracy," Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said on national radio. "The executive will feel better with a president like Zhelyu Zhelev," the prime minister went on to say.

Mr. Khristo Smolenov, head of the Group for Independent Analyses and Strategies, told BTA that "the election results are a victory of realism, it shows that already there can be talk of an overall democratic process in Bulgaria."

After the projected victory of Dr. Zhelev was announced, his opponent Mr. Velko Vulkanov told a news conference that the president owes his election to the votes of the Bulgarian Turks, of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. In Mr. Vulkanov's view, the elections were manipulated. He said that there were too many invalid ballot papers and that called the result into question. The Central Electoral Commission reported that there were less than 0.5 percent invalid ballot papers.

At his news conference Mr. Vulkanov accused the leader of the Human Rights Society Mr. Nikolay Kolev Bosev of having been a secret police informer and then retracted his words. Mr. Kolev said he would sue the losing candidate for slander.

Zhelev Discusses Executive Powers

AU2001112092 Sofia BTA in English 1049 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—Through exercising my constitutional powers and using the moral and political prestige of the institution, I will work together with the government and parliament for the accelerated implementation of the economic reform which is a key to resolving the country's social and political problems, President Zhelyu Zhelev said last night at his first press conference after it became clear he had won the second round of presidential elections.

Elected for a second term in the first direct presidential elections in this country, the head of state emphasized that Bulgaria will continue to pursue his active independent foreign policy aimed at peace and stability in the Balkans and integration into modern Europe.

In reply to a question what other powers the presidential institution should have, Dr. Zhelev said that the president should have the right to initiate legislation and be given greater independence in signing some documents. The new Bulgarian Constitution adopted last year restricts the powers of the head of state—he has the right to a suspensive veto on acts but has no right to initiate legislation, and the performance of a lot of his functions should be coordinated with the government, parliament or the major political forces.

Dr. Zhelev admitted he had expected broader support from the electorate but stressed it is of paramount importance that his candidature was backed up by a lot of democratic parties and organizations.

The projections made by four sociologists' teams and the preliminary data released by the Central Electoral Commission show that the tandem of the Union of Democratic Forces—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev as president and Ms. Blaga Dimitrova as vice-president, is the undoubted winner of the second round of ballot. They polled about 53-54 percent of the vote, and their rivals—the independent tandem Velko Vulkanov-Rumen Vodenicharov supported by the opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party, polled about 46-47 percent.

Mr. Vulkanov and Mr. Vodenicharov who lost the elections also gave a press conference last night. They were booed by most of the journalists who continued to show their negative attitude to the tandem during the press conference itself.

The election results are more than good, which shows that democracy in Bulgaria is alive and has its prospects, Mr. Velko Vulkanov said. In his opinion the Union of Democratic Forces candidates had just a slim advantage gained through an "unheard-of manipulation." According to Mr. Vulkanov and Mr. Vodenicharov the results come to prove that most of Bulgarians do not support Zhelev's policy. There is obviously a drift to the left in the country, the Bulgarians want the establishment of a social state and we will back up Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova if they pursue a policy with this aim in view, the vice-presidential candidate Rumen Vodenicharov said.

Candidates' Political Backing Detailed

AU2001134592 Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev who was elected president by the Grand National Assembly on January 1, 1990 now won the first direct presidential elections: In the runoff vote yesterday he polled 52.85 percent and will stay in office for another term. In the first round last week he failed to get more than half of the votes. His candidature was backed by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), the two agrarian parties and almost all formations which broke away from the SDS shortly

before the parliamentary elections. His rival, the independent candidate Mr. Velko Vulkanov who was backed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and some nationalistic and marxist parties, polled 47.15 percent. Thus Dr. Zhelev won by a 5 percent margin, while in the first round he had been 14 per cent ahead.

Nine of the 21 tandems that lost in the first round called on their supporters to back Mr. Vulkanov.

The electorate's activity in the second ballot was higher than in the first round. 75.90 percent of the voters took part in yesterday's runoff vote compared to 75.50 percent in the first round. Most active was the electorate in Turgovishte and Gabrovo (80 percent).

The second ballot showed a new regrouping of the political forces in the different constituencies. Mr. Vulkanov leads in 13 of the total 32. In four of them he got over 60 per cent of the votes. In the first round he was ahead in only four constituencies, yet failed to get 50 percent of the votes in any of them. Besides the traditional "red-coloured" regions of Vidin, Vratsa and Mikhailovgrad, now he received considerable support in Kyustendil, Pernik, Pleven and the region of Sofia.

At the same time, there was an increase in Dr. Zhelev's electorate in the large cities: Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Burgas. In Kurdzhali he polled 75 per cent. He was also supported by the Bulgarians abroad. The official final results are expected later today.

Zhelev Outlines Future Plans, Stresses Reform

AU1901194992 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Iva Toncheva report: "Reforms As Soon As Possible"]

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—According to the first unofficial results of the second round of voting, the Zhelev-Dimitrova team stands the best chance of winning the presidential elections.

Dr. Zhelev, the first non-communist Bulgarian president elected by the Grand National Assembly in August 1990, will probably serve a second term, this time elected directly by the people.

"Bulgaria has more than one priority at the moment," Dr. Zhelev told BTA. "First, we should launch the economic and political reforms without delay. Second, the country should attract foreign investment," Dr. Zhelev said. He believes that if Bulgaria manages to do so it may have a fair chance of catching up with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the next few years.

Dr. Zhelev is a philosopher famous for his studies of totalitarian and post-totalitarian society. Bulgaria is now undergoing a process of transition. "The old structures, the old state institutions have not been entirely dismantled, yet civil society has managed to create its own infrastructure: A multi-party system, independent trade unions, autonomous universities, opposition press and parliamentary opposition," Dr. Zhelev said. He believes that the democratic process in Bulgaria has reached a stage from which there is no turning back.

Dr. Zhelev told BTA that he does not share the fears, expressed in the pro-socialist press, that the Bulgarian people are divided and that there is much hatred in this country. "It was only natural that such sweeping reforms should provoke tension and discontent," Dr. Zhelev said. He described the statement that the Bulgarian people are divided as "fiction," citing the results of the October general elections. "Two-thirds of the Bulgarians voted in favour of the reform," Dr. Zhelev said. "People are impatient and irritated by the fact that there is much talk but no real change."

"Bulgarians want reforms in both political and economic structures," Dr. Zhelev said.

Dr. Zhelev declined to commit himself to any prediction of the outcome of the Yugoslav crisis. "Regrettably, Yugoslavia is turning into another Lebanon," Dr. Zhelev said. According to him, if international structures do not decide on more active military intervention to stop the bloodshed, Yugoslavia will be completely Lebanonized. "None of the Balkan countries will benefit from this, Bulgaria included," Dr. Zhelev said.

Bulgaria was the first to recognize the independence of Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia [as received] and the president issued an address to the nation in this connection.

According to Dr. Zhelev, the processes now unfolding in what used to be the Soviet Union are only natural. "The empire had to disintegrate before the totalitarian system. Unlike the East European countries, the Soviet Union was an empire, apart from being a totalitarian communist state," said Dr. Zhelev, one of the first heads of state to denounce the attempted coup in Moscow in August. According to him, Gorbachev made a mistake by trying to hold together the crumbling empire. "The empire had to fall apart and we are witnesses of this process. It will bring about the disintegration of the totalitarian system in each of the new states," Dr. Zhelev said.

Asked whether he was planning to write a book and whether he could spare any time for his scholarly pursuits, Dr. Zhelev quipped: "A journalist asked me what I thought, in my philosopher's capacity, about Plato's idea of philosopher rulers, and how could I combine philosophy and politics, and was I writing anything in philosophy. To be honest, I should answer: Who the hell was that Plato?"

Discusses Foreign Policy

AU2001073592 Sofia BTA in English 2326 GMT 19 Jan 92

["Zhelev: 'Bulgaria Pursues Independent Policy'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—"Before the end of May, Bulgaria expects to become a full member of the Council of Europe. Before the end of the year, we hope to get associated with the European Community. Europe: This is the priority of our foreign policy. Our goal is Europe, and I will never get tired repeating: Europe, Europe, Europe," Dr. Zhelev said at a news conference this night, answering a reporter's challenge that he was pursuing a pro- American policy. Dr. Zhelev went on to say, "We set great store by the friendship of the United States. Bulgaria is very keen on the United States."

"We changed the foreign policy to make it independent. I dare feel flattered at the thought of having contributed to that," Dr. Zhelev told the news conference held after it became clear that he was winning the first direct presidential elections in Bulgaria.

"I don't think that the recognition of Macedonia was precipitate. Macedonia will be recognized by other countries, too, but Macedonia will not forget that Bulgaria was the first to recognize it. We recognized simultaneously Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Hercegovina," Dr. Zhelev said, answering a reporter's question.

"To me, all Bulgarian citizens have equal rights, irrespective of their ethnicity," Dr. Zhelev said when asked to comment on Mr. Vulkanov's allegation that Dr. Zhelev owed his victory to the ethnic Turks. "The Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party is leading a nationalist campaign," Dr. Zhelev said.

The president elect's first news conference at the International Press Centre at midnight was attended by the Prime Minister Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces which backed Dr. Zhelev's bid for the Presidency, the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms Mr. Ahmed Dogan, the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation Dr. Konstantin Trenchev and leaders of extra-parliamentary parties which also supported Dr. Zhelev.

Questioned on National Security

AU2101091592 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Margarita Trifonova, BULGARSKA ARMIYA reporter, in Ruse; date not given: "Our National Security Is Not Threatened"]

[Text] [Trifonova] Mr. Zhelev, most of your competitors are speculating on the national security issue! Do you think that it really is threatened?

[Zhelev] Really, the propaganda campaign of all my competitors includes claims to the fact that national security is now neglected to an exceptional degree and that almost anyone who wanted to do so could invade Bulgaria, occupy it, and impose his will. Some even call our country a "fenceless yard." All this has nothing to do with reality.

Bulgaria's national security is at the level that is necessary at the present stage. Anyone who is unbiased can clearly see this. I would like to point out another fact, namely that those who specialize in making statements about national security indeed do not understand the essence of the issue. For Bulgaria, as well as for any other European state, there is almost no danger of military aggression. This is so because any state that allowed itself the luxury of attacking a neighboring state would automatically place itself in a state of political, economic, diplomatic, moral, and military isolation because it would violate the agreements upon which our continent's collective security is based.

[Trifonova] According to you, what is Bulgaria's national security based on?

[Zhelev] The country's internal security is the main national security factor. The level of prosperity in the economic sphere determines society's social stability. It is also based on the mutual relations and harmony between our society's social groups, classes, and ethnic communities.

If we possess the formula for resolving the problems that inevitably emerge in every normally functioning society, we can be calm about our national security. In addition, there is the matter of the country's political stability—mutual relations between political parties and coalitions in the parliament and outside the parliament, as well as relations between political parties and the official state institutions.

Those three factors completely cover the national security issue.

Last year we all saw the collapse of two major states. They virtually disintegrated before our eyes, precisely because of the lack of internal security. I mean the USSR and Yugoslavia. Attempts were made to save them from outside. The United States tried to save the USSR for its own considerations, and the EC tried to save Yugoslavia's integrity as a state. It turned out that when there is no internal security within the state—nothing could save it.

[Trifonova] Do you not think that our country's foreign policy also has great importance for our security?

[Zhelev] Of course, I do not underestimate the foreign policy guarantees for our national security, and I think that this is eloquently reflected in the basic tendencies and priorities of our foreign policy. This is proven by one of our foreign policy's main goals—Bulgaria's integration in the CSCE, the Council of Europe, EC, and NATO.

As you know, we have the status of associated member of the Council of Europe and, God willing, toward the middle of the year we will become regular members. We

are negotiating on receiving the status of associate member of the EC and believe that this will happen by the end of 1993. The advantages are great and not only in the economic sphere. We also must note our broad and active cooperation with NATO.

Concluding bilateral treaties with the great European states—France, Italy, Russia, and the Ukraine is another of our foreign policy's basic directions. As you know, we have already signed such a treaty with Germany. The treaties with Italy and France were already completed two months ago, but so far we have not been able to sign them because of the elections and the formation of the new government. We expect to sign them by the end of January. By the end of the year we will have treaties with Russia and the Ukraine.

Nor do I underestimate the third direction of our foreign policy—concluding bilateral treaties with our neighbors—Greece, Turkey, and Romania. We have already signed such a treaty with Greece. The treaty with Romania is ready, while the one with Turkey is still at the level of experts. All those factors constitute the foreign policy guarantees of Bulgaria's national security.

President Zhelev's Victory Hailed

AU2001132592 Sofia BTA in English 1208 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—The elected president embodies the aspirations of the democratic-minded part of the Bulgarian people, Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, said on the National Radio today commenting on Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's victory in the second round of the presidential elections. Democracy is on the right track, democracy has won, Mr. Dogan said.

Asked if the fact that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (whose electorate comprises mainly ethnic Turks) supported the Bulgarians Zhelev and Dimitrova meant a national conciliation, Mr. Ahmed Dogan answered in the affirmative and pointed out it was a social idea that had opened a possibility for it. Ethnic confrontation and separatist tendencies have no room in a democratic idea, Mr. Dogan said.

In his opinion by staking on the ethnic card a certain party seeks its own survival.

Defense Minister Ludzhev Explains Army Reform

AU1701172092 Sofia BTA in English 1551 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—In reply to the interpellation of the chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee about the nature of the reform in the Army and the Armed Forces in parliament today, the Minister of Defense, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, defined as groundless the charges made against him by the Socialists (formerly Communists) that the reform in the Army has been started and is going on without parliament, the president and the government knowing what it is aimed at.

At the moment the Army is undergoing a transition in which, having until recently served the interests of one party, it is becoming an instrument of the state leadership. In this process of transition the priority of the political over the military principle in the country's administration is being asserted, Mr. Ludzhev, the first civilian minister of defense, said. He underlined that so far mainly a reorganization of the state administration structures has been carried out.

Minister Ludzhev believes that at the moment there is no real danger of an armed aggression or an armed conflict in which Bulgaria could be involved. Openness, transperancy, confidence and cooperation are, in his opinion, the key words which the ministry has encoded in its relations with the defense ministries of Bulgaria's neighbours.

According to Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, chief spokesman for matters of defence in the shadow cabinet of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, however, the statement that there is no danger of armed conflicts in Europe is not enough to evolve an adequate concept of the country's national security. Mr. Yonchev considers the reform in the army to have been precipitated.

After minister Ludzhev's reply the Socialists moved for a parliamentary dispute on the matters of national security but it was put off until next week, discussing the problems at a sitting of the parliamentary National Security Committee with officials of the Ministry of Defense first.

Minister Kostov Explains Foreign Debt Issues

AU2101101492 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 92 pp 1, 2

[Finance Minister Ivan Kostov report: "Internal Problems of the Foreign Debt"]

[Text] Our country undoubtedly needs to contract an agreement with commercial bank creditors that settles this very serious problem on a long-term and lasting basis, which includes compromises. In order to reach such an agreement a number of political, organizational, and other internal problems must be overcome. This is especially pressing as there is no time to waste.

A new phase of negotiations on the foreign debt became a reality after a number of processes had taken place to establish the internal structure of state power, and the separate functions between the separate branches of power in the Republic of Bulgaria. With the adoption of the Constitution, which defines Bulgaria as a parliamentary republic, the conditions under which the Interdepartmental Commission was conducting negotiations changed. Power was strongly concentrated in the hands of the government but was transferred to parliament, which also resumed responsibility for being agent for

state property and the state debt. On the other hand, after the Constitution was adopted time was needed to resolve the political question in the country, and the resolution was arrived at by the 13 October elections. It was obvious that the previous government and the previous parliament did not have the political mandate to assume such a complex commitment as the signing of an agreement with the commercial banks. After the new structure of state power was finally endorsed and the country's political question resolved, it has become necessary to open the decisive phase of negotiations.

The Constitution decrees that the parliament give the government a mandate to conduct negotiations and contract agreements with the commercial banks. Without such an agreement the government is not in a position to assume a state debt and contract loans with foreign partners. According to Article 84 of the Constitution parliament must give such agreement beforehand and this is the first step that must be taken. After receiving a mandate, the government for its part must develop a negotiating position and elect a delegation to represent it. This delegation will be empowered on an expert level to conduct negotiations and draft an agreement. The agreement prepared by the delegation must be approved by the government that will give its member the authority to sign the document in the government's name. The next step is the ratification of the agreement by the National Assembly according to Article 85 of the Constitution. It is only then that the agreement can be finally recognized as being in force. This procedure does not envisage the possibility of any one person accepting sole responsibility for, conducting negotiations on, or coming to an agreement on questions connected with the foreign debt, nor of making a proposal. Without the whole procedure no one's agreement and no one's position have any worth because by following this path a responsibility that is too irksome for any one institution will be shared and accepted in a realistic fashion. In accordance with the country's laws no one institution can contract an agreement independently and give the required guarantees.

At the same time, it is obvious that the preparation and signing of an agreement in itself will already represent a full state guarantee for the financial commitments arising for Bulgaria from the agreement.

Perhaps the main internal problem in preparing and concluding an agreement with the commercial banks is the preparation of the Bulgarian economy to move from a state of continuous borrowing of financial resources from the foreign market to a state of approximate balance, or even to a state of paying obligations already undertaken. Even under a normal economic state of affairs, under the normal development of circumstances an economy switches with difficulty from a regime of owing, to one of paying. This is so much more difficult to achieve under conditions of economic catastrophe and economic ruin. To burden the economy with additional commitments to service the foreign debt must be accepted by the public. The public must be convinced that such a decision is unavoidable. Every attempt to reach a partial decision through the coordination of the opinions and interests of parts of the state administration, and even the government, in favor of a specific agreement will run across this insurmountable problem, namely that of the public's agreement and unity on servicing the foreign debt.

This is the difficult phase. On one hand we must formulate quite clearly and precisely our own interests; on the other hand we are obliged in a tolerant fashion to consider our partner's interests in negotiations. In order for this to happen, a suitable atmosphere is needed. An agreement contracted under stormy conditions and under pressure will lead to the destruction of the fragile internal economic and political balance.

Security Adviser Defends Army, Police Reforms

AU2101120392 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 15 Jan 92 pp 1,2

[Statement by Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, presidential adviser on national security questions, to reporter Lyuben Lachanski; place and date not given: "Only Part of a Communist Scenario—The Truth About the Changes in the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] Even after the first act of a badly crafted play called "Presidential Campaign," 20 teams of candidates continue to shout "catch the thief" with their fingers pointing in the wrong direction. We are not afraid to say that this is a scenario written by notorious authors writing with Lilov's pen dipped in pinkish ink and correcting their mistakes in bright red pencil. The following are the main subjects they are using as pretexts to promote their untruthful campaign to persuade the public that the current democratic government of the republic is a barbarian institution:

The nationality issue.

The pensioners. (They are described as victims of a cruel oppressor, while we, from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, are going to increase pensions ad infinitum).

The selling of the land. (The United States has allegedly granted $8 billion to Turkey to purchase our land, while Bulgarians are supposed to become serfs).

National security is allegedly disintegrating. (For this reason the 9th tank brigade should have razed blue Sofia [where the majority of the population voted for the Union of Democratic Forces] to the ground.)

In view of the fact that I retain the rank of general and am still acting as the adviser to the president of the republic on national security issues, I dare to defy the allegations of all the independent candidates on item No. 4 of the above list. The changes in the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are already tangible. They conform to the worldwide criteria for

national security that the supreme commander in chief of the republic is strictly observing. The principles of seniority, high professional qualifications, and loyalty to the lawful leadership are observed.

I feel obliged to provide an explanation at this point. The principle of seniority and of retirement age is strictly observed as regards the officers' staff, while loyalty to the state means loyalty to the state as such, rather than to political parties, coalitions, and all sorts of shadow governments.....As far as the endless insinuations and innumerable articles published in various dailies on the subject are concerned, I can most authoritatively declare that there is no purge going on either in the Army or among the police forces. There have been many accusations in connection with the changes in the structure of the former Military Counterintelligence. Here is the truth:

As a result of the elimination of the security service's military-political functions, it was necessary to consider its reorganization. The present Military Administration for Security, which in the past used to play the role of a military police and was virtually a counterpart of the Sixth Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has today been assigned totally different tasks, such as: Responsibilities and assistance in connection with the combat readiness of the troops, protection of military secrets, prevention of subversive activity by conspiratorial groups in the Army and of armed provocation on the territory of our country, investigation of the theft of military weapons and army property, and numerous other operational functions. It is true that several senior officers had to give up their comfortable chairs, but they should realize why they were sent into "well deserved" retirement, while those who served honestly—and they constitute the majority of the Army personnel—have enough work today, even if it is not always the work they were trained for, but they can work at least in an atmosphere purged of political bias and without the bitter taste of corruption.

The unjustified submission of facts about the activities of the Rakovski Legion in the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs also caused certain tension. According to Article 81 of the Law on the Ministry of Internal Affairs organization, employees of the ministry are not allowed to become members of political parties and associations outside the ministry.

Therefore, officers of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are not allowed to join the same organization. The functions of the Rakovski Legion involve humanitarian tasks and goals that should be developed, but the Legion should never interfere with the personnel policy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and should never become a new left-wing party organization. Such an evolution would be likely to discredit the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion. Last but not least, I would like to comment on the notorious Decision No. 447 of the Council of Ministers by asking those who adopted it a few questions:

On what grounds did you decide to play such a dirty trick on more than 100,000 officers and reduce their pay by 250 leva just before New Year's eve? Did none of you think about the devastating social and morale impact on these people? Who can permit himself to adopt such actions against the Army and the police forces without at least briefing the commander in chief in advance? How can we describe such action—as a sign of ignorance, bad manners, or deliberate provocation?

Let us ask ourselves in reviewing all these questions: Where is the truth, where is the malicious intent, and where is the rift in the state?

Havel Comments on Visit to Slovakia, Constitution

LD1701221292 Prague Federal 1 Television in Slovak 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Newsreel" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent in Slovak] Mr. President, your visit to Slovakia focused, among other things, on the problem of co-existence amongst various nationalities and ethnic groups in the mixed regions of southern Slovakia. What is your philosophy and view of this problem which is so characteristic for the Central European region and will you be able to orient yourself better after the meetings and discussions you had yesterday?

[Havel in Czech] In Europe specifically in the post-communist world, we are going through a period of the new awakening of nations. After the decades of oppression, attempts to make all people the same and the suppression of all differences, nations are rediscovering their identities. This has led to rather serious problems since it has usually been accompanied by intolerance, xenophobia, and we see how far this can lead in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. I am very glad that this is not the case in Czechoslovakia.

In those southern areas of Slovakia I visited yesterday, in all places I saw our Hungarian fellow citizens live with Slovaks without problems. They are getting on well with each other and this also applies to Romanies and members of other ethnic groups. I was assured of this everywhere not merely by officials but also by ordinary citizens. Although I do not wish to draw rash general conclusions from one trip and a visit to four localities this trip nonetheless made a very good impression on me about co-existence in southern Slovakia.

[Correspondent] Today you met representatives of the government coalition parties. Did you notice during the discussion with them any substantial changes in their existing attitudes?

[Havel] I think that in the basic outline the parties are maintaining their own line, their own policy. Their views are of course developing. Life proceeds in various particulars. For instance, debate on various bill requires that these parties find areas of agreements, that they seek compromises, and understand each other's attitudes. Without this anything would hardly move forward in politics. In these matters one can of course observe various shifts.

[Correspondent] You yourself have said that the principle of ratification by the National Councils should be a one-off act. The Slovak representation however has proposed that under certain conditions repeated ratifications of precisely defined constitutional laws should be held. What is your current attitude to this proposal?

[Havel] I think that two things could be separated here. One is a proposal for a one-off ratification of the new constitution by the National Councils. This is the proposal I myself submitted to the Federal Assembly which the Assembly will debate next week. Before the constitution is adopted the republics would under this law acquire some kind of a basic guarantee that no constitution would be adopted other than the one they themselves desire. This would pave the way for further talks about the treaty. This is one thing.

The second thing is what will happen next. This is however precisely the matter of the new constitution. Provided they succeed in achieving this, a principle of some additional ratifications would be embodied in certain precisely defined points in the new constitution, and if such a constitution is passed, and if this is contained in the treaty and if that principle is transferred into the constitution, then this is somewhat a different matter. However, before the constitution is adopted, my concern now is to give the National Councils a guarantee that no constitution will be adopted that would go against their will.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, are you possibly going to support this principle of a repeated initialing?

[Havel] Personally, I would consider it better if the federal representative bodies have such a structure whereby they may guarantee to the republics that the republics' will is not to be omitted, or overlooked, that this would be part of the internal mechanism of the constitutional system, and that there would be no need to return it to the National Councils again. Nevertheless, if this principle is adopted it does not strikingly contradict the federative principles—there are countries where it does work in this way.

[Correspondent] Your election bill envisages not only the increase of deputies' direct responsibility but also a functioning stable Democracy which is. The Federal Assembly deputies take a rather skeptical stance on this proposal and the majority of them prefers a system of proportional representation. Is not their view of the present state of stability within our democracy to be described as a more realistic view?

[Havel] I have participated in a great number of various debates about an election system. I am very glad that the debate about this issue has begun—in fact I was a bit involved in opening it. As far as my bill is concerned I heard many suggestions which I admitted to be right and took them into consideration, and I would agree with their integration in the law.

Nevertheless, so far I have not come across such arguments to convince me that my bill is bad. I think that it has its advantages in comparison with a system on a strictly proportional principle which was used in our last elections. I think that it will increase electorate's participation in the elections, that it will lead to an integration of political forces in parliament, that it will force candidates put forward by political parties and equipped with

their programs to be capable of defending those programs face to face with their electorate, and that they will in a way guarantee them personally. This would stabilize our political scene.

Nevertheless, as I have already said, I am open to any debate, any modifications—for instance I held talks with some deputies about an alternative to this system which would be used just for the elections to the lower house while the elections to the Senate would be carried out according to a strictly proportional system on the basis of the republics' scrutiny, i.e. the whole republic would be one election ward and this would correspond to the Senate's purpose and function.

Various alternatives are open—what the final result will be in the parliament I do not know. For the time being the constitutional legislative committees have recommended the original deputies' bill on the amendment of the old election law, but various options are still open. What the final result will be can hardly be foreseen at this moment. Nevertheless, I am still convinced that the implementation of certain majority elements would contribute toward the stabilization of our political scene and strengthen our citizens' trust in democracy.

[Correspondent] In the federal parliament a proposal was made to introduce the right of [word indistinct] veto for the president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. In view of the fact that parliament has so far passed only very few of your proposals do you not think that such a change would be advantageous for the president?

[Havel] I think that the principle of a president's right to return a law to parliament for new discussion when the parliament then has to pass it with a higher majority is good. It has been tested in other systems and has its logic. Things are now a bit illogical. The president simply has to sign a law, regardless of whether he agrees with it or not. His signature is rather a symbolic, since the law would be valid even if he did not sign it, which I do not see as a good thing. It seems to me that more important is this right of the president [to veto] than the right to a constitutional initiative. Again, from the point of view of a certain balance and the system of balance and counterbalance in the whole political and constitutional system, it seems to me that what I am proposing to incorporate into the constitution is more important than the present right to a constitutional initiative.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, we know your view of 1992 from your New Year's speech. What is your view of what 1992 will be like in Europe?

[Havel] It seems to me that it might well be a decisive year. New states are being formed and with the fall of the iron curtain which used to divide Europe into two halves, all of a sudden a certain colorful structure of various geopolitical interests and historical rivalries is emerging. In fact the whole of Europe is acquiring a new structure. This affects not only the East, that is those countries which have shaken off communism, but it also reflects itself in the western part of Europe. New supranational institutions or links or certain prerequisites for future links will be created. In this respect I think that this year will be very interesting and important, if not even revolutionary. In the speech you mentioned I talked about the planned Helsinki 2 conference. It is possible that this conference will enter history as a conference which will try to establish the new shape of Europe.

Pithart Describes Budget Problems, Ukraine Trip

LD2101100692 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Weekly interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by correspondent Zbynek Honys; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr. Prime Minister, the Czech Republic saw a considerable deficit last year. Minister Klaus says that the explanation is simple and absolutely straightforward. His explanation is that the republics behaved in a socialist manner and that in the final days and weeks of last year they spent far more money than authorized. He says they had some kind of a Christmas spree. These are tough words. Do you share his view?

[Pithart] I would not say that these are tough words. Tough language is not pleasant, because it rings true. However, this is a hasty pronouncement. You should ask Mr. Klaus why he said this. My own view is that it is an offensive move in the pre-election struggle. Let's get to the point. The Czech Republic did not spend more than it was authorized. We observed the planned expenditure and we did not go over the top. [passage omitted]

[Honys] In your view, are the conclusions made by the federal finance minister premature?

[Pithart] Yes, they are. Making estimates of annual economic results on day 12 is not a good habit. Everywhere, not just in our country, this becomes clear at the end of February at the earliest. I would not touch on this topic at all if Minister Klaus did not indirectly challenge me to do so. These are not only premature conclusions, but, with regard to Minister Klaus, they are tendentious, to put it mildly.

[Honys] How do you interpret his tendentiousness?

[Pithart] Quite simply. Mr. Klaus is not only federal minister of finance and deputy prime minister, he is also a chairman of an ambitious party striving for an electoral victory. Perhaps he is at times more of a party member than a minister. If an opportunity to cast doubt on the prospects of someone who competes against him offers itself to a keen party member, he is likely to take this opportunity. [passage omitted]

[Honys] I would like to recall your trip to the Ukraine. Much has already been written and said about it. What else is there to add?

[Pithart] As time goes by, we can see things more coherently. We can see the connections between all that we saw and heard there. We witnessed the first consequences of the dismantling of a common state. Do not get me wrong, the state had to be dismantled. [passage omitted] What we saw were practical consequences of the dismantling of the state. Many Slovak politicians should see this. [passage omitted] The whole trip was organized and consulted on right up to the last minute with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Czech Republic does not pursue an adventurous foreign policy. We pursue foreign contacts to which the current law on the division of powers and the Constitution entitle us.

[Honys] Mr. Prime Minister, optimistic views are currently appearing that the last year's crisis in the relations between Czechs and Slovaks has perhaps been extinguished and that at the beginning of this year there is hope....

[Pithart, interrupting] As for the hope, I would prefer to keep this issue close to my chest. I would say that no dramatic conflicts should take place before the elections or before the summer. It is not immodest if I state that over the greater part of last year I was counting on something like this happening. There were numerous occasions when we could have responded to certain pronouncements or proposals in a way that would have exacerbated the crisis, which would simply have resulted in a conflict and which would have brought things to an end. Over this entire period my resolve was not to let ourselves be provoked by verbal conflicts, because I know that the true test of the willingness and readiness to live in a common state will be the discussion of the budget at the end of the year. I konw that this is the venue where the truth will manifest itself. It is the venue where taking risks is worthwhile.

At the same time, I kept hoping that budgetary problems would make the Slovak side approach the problems in a more businesslike, realistic, and practical manner. Perhaps—knock on wood—this happened. Perhaps the meaning of the last month is that many Slovak heads cooled down.

Before the elections there is no purpose in starting anything, because everyone knows that the elections—especially for Slovakia—will constitute a referendum to a considerable degree. In Slovakia, people's votes will depend to a considerable degree on the view the parties hold on the co-existence or the independent existence of Slovakia. New cards will be dealt out on a new table. In this respect I am not an optimist. Perhaps everything will start all over again; perhaps there will be confrontation of less conciliatory stands than last year and the first six months of this year.

[Honys] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for this interview.

Dienstbier Rejects Changes to Joint German Treaty

LD2001101492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier categorically rejects any change in the treaty with Germany initialled three months ago. He told Radio Hessen that the treaty is the result of several months of talks and that it is balanced and focuses on the future. He said the document does not explicitly tackle the Sudeten German property issue, adding that it is now necessary to overcome the past and not to let ourselves be influenced by it. Jiri Dienstbier added that there is no united view on the treaty in Czechoslovakia either. Unless it is signed by President Havel and Chancellor Kohl by 15 February, it will then become a part of the election campaign, and the question is whether it will be ratified before the June election. Minister Dientsbier stressed that Czechoslovak-German relations are far too serious a matter for them to become the subject of an election campaign.

[Hamburg DPA in German at 0707 GMT on 19 January adds in a Frankfurt-datelined report on the Radio Hessen interview that Dienstbier said the treaty "deliberately left open" the question of Sudeten German assets. While Dienstbier noted that agreement was reached on "most points" in the treaty, DPA quotes him as saying: "We pointed out frankly and openly the things on which we knew we would not be able to reach agreement."]

Klaus Claims Czech Budget 'Slipping Into Decline'

AU1701151892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jan 92 p 2

[CSTK report; from the "Parties and Movements" column]

[Text] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] held a press briefing in Prague yesterday. ODS Chairman V. Klaus condemned the statement made by P. Pithart on Tuesday [14 January] in which the Czech prime minister described the remarks made by the deputy prime minister and finance minister on the republican budget deficits as part of the preelection campaign. V. Klaus stressed that this was a very alarming and irresponsible statement. At a time when the budget of the government headed by P. Pithart is slipping into an unfathomable decline, I would imagine there is only one thing for him to do, and that is to keep quiet, stated V. Klaus. ODS Deputy Chairman P. Cermak asked how it was possible that, during the final days and weeks of last year, there was a sudden and huge influx of money into the budgets of enterprises and various institutions. V. Klaus added that, for example, the Slovak budget's daily expenditure at the end of last year increased from an average of 440 million korunas to 900 million korunas.

Christian Democrats Against Havel's Draft Bill

LD1901213592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1130 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Report on news conference with Christian Democratic Party representatives by correspondent Alexander Picha on CSFR President Vaclav Havel's draft electoral bill on 13 January—place not given]

[Text] Christian Democratic Party [CDP] Chairman Vaclav Benda said that attempts by some groups of deputies to make Havel's proposals acceptable by proposing amendments to them would not work. Benda said it is impossible to proceed even from the bill's foundations because the president's proposals combine the disadvantages of the majority and proportional electoral systems and, by proposing to apply two various preferences, it discriminates against voters who have a clear idea about for whom to vote. Moreover, Benda said the Christian Democrats reject the messianistic notion of experimentation by seeking some kind of a third way between electoral systems. The CDP also opposes the president's notion of a federal council and supports the idea of a senate as the second chamber of parliament. Provided the senate operates on similar foundations as the lower chamber, the CDP will not agree with its transfer to Bratislava because it would cause a number of practical problems.

Liberal Democrats 'Bone of Contention' Intensifies

LD2001135492 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Report on a news conference with Liberal Democratic Party representatives by correspondent Jiri Hracek in Prague on 15 January]

[Text] Federal Assembly Deputy Bohumil Dostal commented on a statement by Dr. Viktorie Hradska in which she said that her opponents in the party described her husband as a State Security Service agent. She said that this accusation is not true. Bohumil Dostal went on to say that the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] leadership received information from several sources about this fact and that they themselves had verified that the information is true. The party leadership regards that matter as completely private. Moreover, Dr. Viktorie Hradska gave that information to the press herself, Deputy Dostal said. LDP Chairman Emanuel Madler went on to report on the situation in the party. He confirmed that the split between the Moravian and Czech party organizations runs very deep. The biggest bone of contention is allegedly the present party political line. In this situation, we have not opened any talks with our prospective coalition partners into the coming parliamentary election, Emanuel Mandler concluded.

[Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech at 1700 GMT on 16 January adds in a similar report: "Representatives of the LDP wing led by Chairwoman Viktorie Hradska today announced their serious intention to merge with the Civic Democratic Party [CDP] or the Civic Democratic Alliance [CDA] even at the cost of the LDP's title. On the statutes issue, Viktorie Hradska today confirmed that the CDP cannot offer collective membership to the Liberal Democrats. However, some LDP members could be represented in the CDP Republican Council, and other members would gain CDP memberhip on an individual basis. On the other hand, the CDA offered to Liberal Democrats collective membership, including the preservation of their Party hierarchy. By merging with one of these parties, we will perhaps provide an example for other parties, Viktorie Hradska said. However, the entire membership basis must decide on all these issues at a conference. Responding to a Radio Czechoslovakia question, she confirmed that the LDP leadership is more inclined to merge with the CDA. It is not considering a merger with the Civic Movement. Another issue that ensued from the briefing was that the serious disputes between the wings of Viktorie Hradska and Emanuel Mandler continue within the LDP with unabating intensity."]

Jeszenszky Comments on Foreign Policy

LD1701222592 Budapest MTI in English 0754 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Jeszenszky concluded his four-day tour of three countries—Kuwait, Turkey and Moldova—and returned to Hungary in the late evening hours on Thursday.

In an interview with MTI, Jeszenszky said Hungarian foreign policy strives to have multiple bases, indication of which were the current talks. It is important for Hungary to create good relations with the states of the Arab—and, in the broader sense—the Muslim world that carry out a moderate foreign policy, and attest religious tolerance.

The talks in Kuwait and Turkey, and the concrete agreements signed there, attest that the readiness for the above exists from the part of all sides concerned.

With respect to Moldova, the foreign minister recalled Hungary had recognised the independence of all former Soviet Republics, and Hungarian interests determine the schedule of establishing diplomatic relations with the successor states. From this aspect, Moldova is among the important republics.

In conclusion, the foreign minister said the results of the tour surpassed the expectations, and that significant opportunities exist to develop political and economic cooperation

Bosnian Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

LD1701172392 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—Bosnia-Hercegovina's Foreign Minister Haris Silajdjic is to visit Budapest Saturday, Hungarian Foreign Ministry officials said.

The request for recognition by Bosnia-Hercegovina's [as received] is to be discussed by the EC in a few weeks. Silajdjic's visit to Budapest is one of a series of talks betwen Hungary and the individual southern Slav republics.

Silajdjic, invited by Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky, is the first Bosnia-Hercegovinian foreign minister to visit Hungary.

While here, Silajdjic is also to meet Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

Jeszenszky Previews Talks

LD1901212392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Jozsef Szabo in Budapest on 18 January; from the "Midday Chronicle" program—recorded]

[Text] [Szabo] What plans will the Hungarian foreign minister sit down with at negotiations with Bosnia-Hercegovina's foreign minister?

[Jeszenszky] Hungary has consistently sought regular contacts with all the republics, as well as the Federal administration, since the Yugoslav crisis began. Of course, this extended even to Serbia; we have sought and are seeking good relations with Serbia. Bosnia- Hercegovina is one of Yugoslavia's bigger republics, and it has declared its intention to declare independence, although the Serbs living there—constituting roughly one-third of the population—appear to refer to some kind of great Serbia or to maintaining the rest of Yugoslavia. Naturally, the forthcoming negotiations will focus on Bosnia-Hercegovina's intentions, on its policies under the new circumstances, and on the way in which Hungary will be able to shape its links to Bosnia-Hercegovina in the future. Sarajevo is not only the scene of an ill-fated assasination but also the capital of a dynamically developing province, with a large industry, raw materials, and relatively modest Hungarian links whose widening is in the interest of both sides. In other words, beyond the political consultations, we must get around to economic cooperation, as well. If we look at the map, we can see that we are talking about an area which is very near to us, and the road to Croatia leads partly through Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Recognition Central in Talks

LD1901212292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Vilmos Kovacs]

[Text] Hungarian-Bosnia-Hercegovina negotiations began in the Foreign Ministry today. Hari Silajdzic arrived in Hungary on Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's invitation and will brief his host on the Yugoslav situation. Naturally, the two foreign ministers will discuss the possible recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, for as is known the government in Budapest keeps this issue on its agenda. Geza Jeszenszky will host a luncheon in his guest's honor after the talks end, which should be soon. Hari Silajdzic will also meet President Arpad Goncz.

EC Requirements Necessary

LD1801230992 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—International recognition is a justified claim on the part of all southern Slav republics answering the criteria of democracy. Bosnia-Hercegovina will also have to prove its capability to meet the requirements set by the EC. When considering the republic's recognition, Hungary will be guided by views of the EC and other states, seeking the widest possible agreement on the issue, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told MTI today.

Jeszenszky was answering questions from the press after talks with his Bosnia-Hercegovina counterpart Haris Silajdjic.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is striving to create democracy and a market economy, Jeszenszky said, adding the talks with Silajdjic convinced him of the republic's highly developed political culture.

A sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina closely cooperating with its neighbours will make a promising economic partner for Hungary, Jeszenszky said.

Hungary's recognizing Croatia and Slovenia received no particular response from Serbia, Jeszenszky said.

"Both the government and opposition forces in Serbia seem to have adopted a more sober approach, the essence of which is the wish to create peace," Jeszenszky said.

Reporting on the meeting with his Hungarian counterpart, Silajdjic said there was a full concord of views, with results of the talks being "more than satisfactory."

With the progress of democracy in the southern Slav republics, problems are certain to be resolved, Silajdjic said.

Seeking international recognition, Bosnia-Hercegovina is planning to stage a referendum about sovereignty. Such an act will serve the cause of democracy, he added.

Bosnia-Hercegovina suggests sovereign southern Slav states should form a Commonwealth, Silajdjic said.

Foreign Ministers Interviewed

LD1801204292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Attila Kert, including passages from interviews with Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Siladjdzic in English with superimposed Hungarian translation and Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeza Jeszenszky on 18 January; from the "Evening Chronicle" program—recorded]

[Text] This morning Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky conferred with the foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina. After the discussion, both politicians spoke to our colleague Attila Kert.

[Kert] Haris Silajdzic arrived in Budapest from Italy at the invitation of Geza Jeszenszky and incidentally he traveled by train entirely alone. He conferred with the Hungarian foreign minister in the Foreign Ministry building for almost one hour longer than planned, although, as he jokingly remarked, they agreed on so many things that they hardly had anything to talk about.

[Silajdzic] Naturally, we talked about topics connected with Yugoslavia, first and foremost about how other countries could recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina. I have in mind the same kind of recognition as that given to Croatia and Slovenia on the part of the EC.

I tried to outline our case, that is, the situation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, what we expect of independence, of recognition. We are well aware that it is a question of a process. Incidentally, that is what I discussed the other day with French President Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Dumas, and yesterday with Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis. They too intimated that it is indeed a question of a process.

[Kert] After the conversation, Geza Jeszenszky said that the talks have affirmed his conviction that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a country with good economic development and a great political past and culture, which could be a promising economic partner for Hungary. After this the foreign minister replied to the question of the "Evening Chronicle."

Hungary has not yet recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Can this meeting, therefore, be regarded as the meeting of the representatives of the Hungarian Republic and a Yugoslav member state?

[Jeszenszky] On the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution, the Yugoslav republics had independent governments and independent Foreign Ministries. The leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina visited Hungary on several occasions. Of course, as for the visit at the start of 1989 by the Bosnian prime minister, that was a different Bosnia and a different Hungary. So, I have to say that this really was the first high-level contact between democratic Bosnia and democratic Hungary.

[Kert] Was Yugoslavia's Budapest Embassy informed about and did it cooperate in the holding of the meeting?

[Jeszenszky] I think it was informed, because we did not make any secret of it. It was even announced in the news. But it did not cooperate and there was no need for it either.

Goncz Pleased with Meeting

LD1801205392 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] President Arpad Goncz this afternoon received the foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Hari Silajdzic paid an official visit to Budapest at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart. Arpad Goncz also discussed with his guest from Sarajevo the general prospects for settling the situation in Yugoslavia.

[Begin Goncz recording] We had an extremely interesting discussion in considerable depth about the Yugoslav realities, or rather about the realities of the Yugoslav situation. My impression is that he is optimistic, he is optimistic [repeats himself], and is convinced a solution will be found, and he is convinced that the solution will eventually be found within the organization of the UN. [end recording]

[Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian at 1700 GMT on 18 January adds on Goncz's meeting with Silajdzic: "Arpad Goncz stated that Serbia can continue to use the telecommunication and railway lines which pass through our country. Hungary has never abused this position of hers, and neither would she do such a thing in the future, at the time of eventual negotiations"]

Silajdzic on Positive Outcome of Talks

LD1801230592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who spent today on an official visit to Budapest, stated after his talks—primarily about Hungary's recognition of this republic—that they were "more than satisfactory".

According to Silajdzic, total agreement was achieved in his talks with Foreign Minister Jeszenszky and President Arpad Goncz. Speaking about the ways of resolving the Yugoslav conflict, Minister Silajdzic said that Bosnia-Hercegovina favors a community of sovereign republics which would resolve their problems in a democratic way.

The Hungarian foreign minister, who has just returned from a visit to Turkey, stressed that when considering the possibility of recognizing Bosnia-Hercegovina, Hungary will be guided by the standpoints of the EC countries. According to him, requests by the Yugoslav republics for international recognition are justified providing they fulfil all democratic requirements as set out by the EC. This also applies to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the context of the Hungarian recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, Minister Jeszenszky also mentioned Serbia from which, he said, "there has been no special reaction" to this step by Budapest. According to him, this shows that "the government as well as the opposition in Serbia have adopted a more sober approach, the essence of which is to achieve peace in the Yugoslav conflict."

During his talks with Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, Haris Silajdzic, head of the Bosnia-Hercegovina diplomacy, asked that "by conveying objective information, the Hungarian diplomacy should help the West to understand the complex situation in relations between the Yugoslav republics."

Minister Silajdzic invited President Goncz to visit Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the head of the Hungarian State extended an invitation to Alija Izetbegovic to vist Budapest.

Silajdjic Invites Goncz to Sarajevo

LD1801231692 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—Hungary hopes southern Slav peoples will cooperate to resolve the crisis in their region, and seeks to foster good ties with all the republics to help them build peace and democracy, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz said after talks with Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdjic today.

As a sign of Hungary's goodwill, Goncz mentioned the country's readiness to provide transit routes and telephone lines to all southern Slav republics over the past months.

Silajdjic requested Hungarian diplomacy to go on helping its Western partners understand the complicated situation in the southern Slav states by providing objective information.

During the meeting, Silajdjic confirmed an invitation for Goncz to Sarajevo. The Hungarian president, in turn, invited his Bosnia- Hercegovina counterpart to Budapest.

Winding up his visit to Hungary this afternoon, Silajdjic left for Vienna, where he is reported to hold talks with his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock.

Hungary Recognizes Slovenia's Independence

LD2001152192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] While the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade continues to operate, its sphere of authority includes only four Yugoslav Republics. Janos Herman, foreign affairs spokesman, said that our Embassy in Croatia is temporarily dealing with Slovenian affairs and that the charge d'affaires in Zagreb has handed over the Hungarian note officially recognizing Slovenia in Ljubljana. Thus, ambassadorial level diplomatic ties have been established between Slovenia and our country.

Jeszenszky on Moldova, Belarus Relations

LD1901213692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Jozsef Szabo in Budapest; date not given; from the "World Clock" program—recorded]

[Text] [Szabo] Not counting Romania, the Hungarian Republic was the first foreign country to recognize the Republic of Moldavia diplomatically. Did this Hungarian step fit into our general policy toward the former Soviet states? Or was it perhaps a gesture toward Romania?

[Jeszenszky] The aim involved both, and the step fits into our general policy toward the former Soviet states. Relations with Moldavia are very important; it is closest to us geographically, after Ukraine. Certainly, we wanted to indicate with this that we aim for the closest possible relations with another Romanian state, just as we would like to have with Romania, as well. It is only regrettable that the Romanian Republic is not very willing to respond to the Hungarian gestures. Actually, regarding

my trip to Moldavia, Hungarian foreign policy—or the Hungarian foreign minister—was subjected to verbal attacks from Romania using quite unacceptable language, which has become quite customary unfortunately. I would also like to stress that Moldavia is not a specially favored region, as Belarus is also on the agenda. The Belarussian foreign minister was unable to make his planned visit to Budapest due to prior commitments. We soon will take further steps to establish links with the CIS and make these closer, to implement our earlier statement of intent.

[Szabo] How do you see the Republic of Moldavia's position? The Republic's leaders joined the CIS, which closes the door on possible Moldavia-Romania unification.

[Jeszenszky] This can only be decided by those concerned. I see—and I want to stress this strongly, based on my personal experiences there, as well—that Moldavia, even if it wanted to, could not cut or significantly reduce links with the other parts of the former Soviet Union. In fact, it does not want to do this. This would be impossible to do technically, because you can only phone Budapest from Kishinev via Moscow. Economic cooperation became more difficult here due to the currency problems, due to the shaken confidence in the ruble, so cooperation between the former individual republics of the Soviet Union became more difficult. There are no alternatives; Moldavia can provide food for the country but cannot supply the industrial goods, except perhaps refrigerators. The economic cooperation continues to be very important there. New areas, new methods for this must be found. This explains, justifies Moldavia's step. At the same time, compared to the almost complete isolation before, many things have already happened in the interest of making relations between Moldavia and Romania more intense. This is very important and very desirable. As part of the economic links and trade between Moldavia and Hungary, I recommend that we not only examine the possibility of using the Zahony route—the only one leading across the Carpathians, the only one providing a link with Moldavia, but one that is overloaded—but also investigate other possibilities. For example, it is possible for deliveries to pass through Romania on public roads or by railway. Hungary wants to be a good partner to Romania and to Moldavia.

Military Attaches for Croatia, Slovenia Suggested

LD1901112292 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—Hungary may send military attaches to Croatia and Slovenia, Defence Ministry spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti said speaking about defence policies. In a lecture read at the Hungarian Democratic Forum Academy in Balatonfured (W. Hungary) today, Keleti said Army command will maintain defence alert and helicopter patrols on the country's southern borders. As both Croatia and Slovenia share borders with Hungary, it is especially important to foster good ties with the military leadership of the countries, Keleti said. He compared the relationship to the one between Hungary and the Ukraine. After the Ukraine's recognition last December, Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur signed a letter of intent with his Ukrainian counterpart on cooperation between the two countries, Keleti said.

Fur Departs for Official Portuguese Visit

LD2001164192 Budapest MTI in English 1133 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur on Monday left for an official visit to Lisbon at the invitation of his Portuguese counterpart Joaquim Fernando, Defence Ministry spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti told MTI. Fur is accompanied by Lieutenant General Antal Annus, administrative secretary of state at the Defence Ministry, Brigadier General Jozsef Biro, first deputy chief of staff, and MP Antal Gaal, member of parliament's defence committee and its Portuguese-Hungarian section. The visit is aimed at discussing the possibility of co-operation between the two ministries and Armed Forces and establishing direct contact between top leaders. The delegation is scheduled to hold talks at the Portuguese Defence Ministry about the state of military links and the ways and means of further co-operation.

Firm Denies Selling Nerve Gas to Iran

LD1801143792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] An Italian paper accuses the Hungarian firm Lampart of having wanted to sell Iran technology used for the manufacture of battle gases. According to CORRIERA DELLA SERA an Iranian group of engineers was to travel to Hungary to learn the operation of the assembly line capable of manufacturing nerve gases.

NEPSZABADSAG questioned the Lampart managing director, who has most decisively rejected the charges. Zoltan Reti declared that the company manufactures only generally known autoclaves used in medicine production and containers and produced in many parts of the world.

Kadar Says Economic 'Collapse' Avoided

LD2001205192 Budapest MTI in English 2013 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Vienna, January 20 (MTI)—The collapse and chaos many expected was avoided in Hungary, said Hungarian International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar discussing the economics of the political change at a lecture this evening.

About its shift in foreign trade, Kadar discussed Hungary's relations with states of the former Soviet Union.

Representatives of Austrian banks, and firms with Hungarian partners, mainly asked Kadar about privatisation in Hungary.

The programme of the Austrian-Hungarian union's economic section was opened by Austrian Economic Minister Wolfgang Schussel.

Fur: Army Capable of Defending Country

LD1801222192 Budapest MTI in English 2057 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI)—There is no need for Hungary to worry about any attack from its neighbours, Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur said at a Hungarian Democratic Forum Conference in Pecs (Hungary) today.

Except for the Ukraine, neighbouring countries have armies of 170,000-180,000, Fur said. According to many military strategists, for a defending army to be successful it only needs one-third the number of men as its attacker. The Hungarian Army is strong enough to defend itself based on that ratio, Fur said.

National security policy is of prime importance in the present crisis-ridden East-Central Europe, Fur said. The three main factors of security policy are international agreements, internal security and Armed Forces, he said.

Fur believes it will still be necessary to maintain the Hungarian Army for a long time.

Secretary Meets Press on Privatization

LD1901113692 Budapest MTI in English 1130 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January (MTI) [dateline as received]—The aim of the privatisation programme for the next 3 to 5 years is to reduce the proportion of state property within national assets to 30 per cent. A package of bills that will differentiate between assets that will continue to remain in state ownership, and those to be privatised within a short time, is expected to be submitted to parliament within two weeks, said Tamas Szabo, secretary of state of the Ministry of Finance, at a press briefing on Friday, outlining the session of the government on Thursday. Szabo also said that under the terms of the plan approved by the government, a new state holding agency, the State Property Co., will be set up in affiliation with the State Assets Agency, to operate the firms remaining under state ownership. The state will provide the equity for the new company, which will also be open to private capital investors. The State Assets Agency will continue to see to the privatisation of companies. The branch ministries, which had so far been entrusted with the state's property rights, will now see to official organisational tasks. Szabo also reported that foreigners have invested 800 million dollars in the course of privatisation programmes implemented to date. Another World Bank loan is to be raised to implement additional plans, including the financing of the new, third restructuring programme for companies. The government also discussed regulating the functions of the fire department and the civil defence organs. As the government spokesperson in charge of home policy issues Judit Juhasz said at the briefing, the ministers also believe it should be debated whether to have regular troops for civil defence duties.

Trade With Yugoslavia Continues Despite War

LD2001151492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Hungarian trade with the Yugoslav states has not dropped significantly, despite the Yugoslav civil war. The total trade turnover last year was some $500 million, half of which Hungarian enterprises carried out with their Serbian partners. The trade share of Croatian firms was 20 percent and that of Slovenian firms 18 percent. An International Economic Relations Ministry official said that debts to Hungarian enterprises total $8-10 million. However, there is hope for debt recovery since the foreign buyers have only asked for payment postponements.

USSR Successor States Owe 2 Billion Rubles

LD2101070692 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine have shown willingness to pay their share of the former Soviet Union's debt accumulated in trade with Hungary, a Hungarian International Economic Relations Ministry official told MTI today.

Soviet debts to Hungary, piled up over the past three years, amount to 2 billion roubles.

Further negotiations will have to be held on ways and conditions of repayment, the official said.

Foreign Minister Visits Turkey, Meets Counterpart

WA1701124692

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to Turkey, including reports on his talks with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, see the Turkey section of the 16 January West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Former Soviet Army Group 'Subordinate' to Russia

LD1701213392 Warsaw PAP in English 1444 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—The Northern Group of the former Soviet Army now stationing in Poland seems to have been subordinated to Russia although no clear answer was given to that question yet.

Press spokesman for the plenipotentiary of the Polish Government for the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland Colonel Stefan Golebiowski told PAP Friday [17 January], quoting the Polish Foreign Ministry, that all questions of the stationing and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland are being taken over by Russia's authorities, but avoided a straightforward answer.

Military attache in the Russian Embassy in Warsaw Petr Stoyanov said on Thursday [16 January] that the subordination of the Northern Group of the former Soviet Army has not been determined yet.

Not a single operational Soviet military transport had left Poland in the fourth quarter of 1991. Still there is no agreed timetable of the planned withdrawal. "It is quite simply a one-sided withdrawal according to the plan of the other side" said Colonel Golebiowski.

Last year 4,300 soldiers from the Northern Group left Poland, evacuating completely 13 garrisons, after which 1,119 of 6,200 buildings were recovered. From the 70,000 hectares of land leased, 2,000 has been returned. This year another 58,000 more are expected to be handed back.

A Polish delegation for talks on the withdrawal of the Northern Group of the former Soviet Army is leaving for Moscow on January 21.

Walesa Discusses Team of Advisers, Price Rises

LD2001104892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by unidentified correspondent on 19 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, RZECZPOSPOLITA on 17 January published the results of a public opinion poll in which only 20 percent of those polled think of you as an arbiter in political disputes in Poland and 49 percent think the contrary. Does this cause you to worry?

[Walesa] No, it does not. It depends on how we look at it. If we look at it when I was hindering the government's appointment because I demanded [word indistinct] wider base, then you might notice that something is wrong, that I am biased. However, it was not partiality; it was only an attempt to create a wider base for this government, winning time to expand the base to the maximum.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, I would also like to ask you about your team of advisers, to be headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the Union. There is talk of Jan Krzyzstof Bielecki being part of the team. Will it be an opposition group to the government?

[Walesa] No. Again, it is not like this. I must help build pluralism. For example, if the government moves far to the right now, then, despite the fact that I share the same views, I must help the left for the sake of Polish democracy's development. This is why I am not building yet, because I do not yet know what will work out in Poland, what system will be necessary so that the development will be the right one. I am not trying to score points. I am responsible for developing Poland properly, specifically the political system. The government is responsible for the economy; based on its results, I will add what is necessary for the development. If someone judges me at different points of time, the judgment might be different.

[Correspondent] Can we pass to the everyday problems? This type of problem includes price increase. In this context, how would you assess Marian Krzaklewski's idea about so-called direct payments for power replacing the government increases in prices for the power supplies.

[Walesa] It may be solved in this or some other way. The fact is that something should be done. I would like to say that social pressure is also necessary, wise social pressure, so that the government will always, at its best, try to solve the problems, that it does not have a single hour, a single minute, of rest but will seek social wisdom, will be open for this wisdom, and will look for solutions with it. We have the results that we have now because this has not been happening. I repeat: I will strongly insist on Poland's quick and general privatization so that Poles, poor Poles, can get all of Poland on mortgage, and then they will know what to do with it.

[Correspondent] Returning to price increases: The activists of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast, led by Anna Walentynowicz and Andrzej Gwiazda, proposed more radical solutions. They suggested we should simply not pay these increased prices.

[Walesa] Yes. Of course, you can put it that way, but then we will pay with hospitals and other things. The building system is being hugely disrupted right now. We are switching from left orientation to right, which is very difficult. Let's face it, the GDR and the USSR have separated from us, whole cities are building tanks, whole cities are building helicopters, workers must be paid, all this cannot be reversed quickly. This is why we are attempting the impossible. However, there are solutions, and we must allow society to create the goods and to govern more widely.

Mazowiecki, Bielecki on Ties With Walesa

LD1701181192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1510 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The press reported that yesterday President Lech Walesa proposed to Tadeusz Mazowiecki that he set up a group of advisers attached to the Belweder Palace. The

Democratic Union's leader received the proposal with satisfaction, but replied that he would have to sleep on it. Today, we asked Tadeusz Mazowiecki about the effects of the sleep.

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] It is not exactly as you are saying. I was indeed received by the president and I expressed satisfaction at the president's wanting, so to speak, to refer to my experience as prime minister and (?support for that); and I see the possibility of such consultations—but, on the other hand, GAZETA WYBORCZA, for instance, which runs the headline today: "Mazowiecki and Bielecki Advisers to Walesa," is taking its interpretation too far, because there is no question of any institutionalization of my function of advising the president.

[Unidentified correspondent] Are you saying you do not want to be adviser to President Walesa?

[Mazowiecki] It is not a matter of wanting or not wanting. I will very willingly consult with the president on different issues, if the president wishes. However, being permanent adviser to the president is something else: that is a specific function, that is something else, is it not?

[Correspondent] What are your relations with President Lech Walesa like at the moment?

[Mazowiecki] In what sense?

[Correspondent] At one time, particularly during the presidential election campaign and later, those relations were fairly cool.

[Mazowiecki] The relations between us are normal and I want to tell you that no report about me becoming some sort of permanent adviser and (?allegedly) creating some sort of political camp around the Belweder, as Mr. Pacewicz comments [in GAZETA WYBORCZA]—no such report came from the president or from me. [end recording]

[Correspondent] We asked Jan Krzysztof Bielecki the same question.

[Begin recording] [Bielecki] The president's intention is to make some use of former prime ministers who were promoted by him: Prime Minister Mazowiecki indirectly, because Lech Walesa was not yet president then, and me directly. The important thing here is how the president sees it and what my view us on the subject.

[Unidentified correspondent] I understand that if such a proposal is made, then you will serve on such a committee.

[Bielecki] I will first wait for the proposal for an official meeting.

[Correspondent] Can we take things a little further and say that the [Democratic] Union and the [Liberal-Democratic] Congress are coming closer to each other?

[Bielecki] An agreement must be sought in this difficult situation, as when a good captain should shout: All hands on deck! [end recording]

Olszewski Appeals for Patience, Support

LD1701205892 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1853 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Olszewski] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Letters arrive on my desk, sometimes encouraging ones, with expressions of support, of solidarity. But letters also arrive with dramatic questions. Does the government know how much poverty there is in Poland? Does the government know on how many farms run by pensioners the old-age or disability pension does not even last until halfway through the month? Does the government know that buying fruit for the children is an insoluble problem in many working-class families? If the government knows all that, then why did it uphold and announce the decision made earlier on energy price rises? If it knows and makes such decisions, then does it have the right to describe itself, to use the expression that it is the government of hope?

I think it is my duty to respond publicly to these dramatic questions. Yes, the government knows. The government knows how difficult the situation is in many, very many Polish families. The government knows how much poverty and hopelessness there is in Poland at this moment. Despite this, the government made the decision to raise energy prices—so painful for many of the poorest families—with a heavy heart and it is also making numerous other decisions, linked with the so-called interim budget prepared by the previous government, which brought to Polish society and many groups within it other equally painful restrictions.

We make these decisions, because the government's duty, its first duty, is not to express sympathy to the citizens, but to make decisions: hard decisions, sometimes bad decisions, but vital decisions, if worse things are to be avoided.

The condition of the state can be described as a threshold of catastrophe. The present economic situation is unclear. The state of public finances is catastrophic. We even do not know, we cannot estimate at the moment how great the debt of the state budget is due to unsettled commitments for the previous year. Is it the sum of 20 billion zlotys or is it two times greater? Until we know, no responsible government can formulate its economic program. Neither can we suggest steps which should be taken to lead the country out of the collapse, when we cannot be certain whether or not they would lead to even greater deterioration of the situation.

That is why we have to appeal to the society for patience. We are preparing our own report on the conditions of the state, which we have taken over, and for which we take responsibility. The report will be ready in less than two

weeks. We will need two more weeks to formulate the first principles of our own social and economic program, already created on the basis of the properly recognized situation, even if it is bad. That is what I can promise for the moment, that is what I can say with all conviction, and only that.

The good climate for swindlers, crooks, and thieves is coming to an end in this country, to an irrevocable end. There will be no return to it as long as this government remains in power. I know that not everybody is going to like it. I know that for many it raises hope that maybe this government will not survive even for a month. But I know also that our intentions go halfway to meet the will of the majority of this society.

In Poland the enormous majority of citizens puts the public interest above their own good, and this government can and ought to count on these people—and it does. We do not have a feeling of infallibility, we could make mistakes, particularly in such a difficult and confused situation. That is why we are determined to hold as broad and open a dialogue as possible with everyone, who can and wants to help the government.

Yesterday I had a long talk with Mr. Krzaklewski, chairman of the Solidarity National Commission. He proposed a plan, which in his opinion and that of the Solidarity authorities, enables the budget's needs to be met with less of a strain being placed on the people than that which results from decisions made on the energy price rises. We are open to this plan. We shall analyze it very carefully. We are determined to proceed in a similar manner on all issues, on all decisions which the government is going to make. We want to be wise with the wisdom of the whole of society. We want the process of government to take place in permanent and direct contact and dialogue.

In this difficult moment we are counting on the support of all of you who understand that situation and who draw the correct conclusions from it—those basic and primary conclusions that we can find our way out of this collapse. I hope we come out of it in the near future. We will either get out together or not at all. Thank you.

Solidarity Leadership Debates Further Steps

LD2001224392 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—The Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission debated Monday [20 January] on further steps to be taken by the union after the talks held by its leader Marian Krzaklewski with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski last week and the latter's recent dramatic TV appeal for understanding and help.

In face of new developments, the Solidarity National Commission at its meeting on Tuesday [21 January] is expected to decide whether the union should hold talks with the government without waiting for the solution to the controversial issue of the energy price hikes and whether to go on with a referendum on a general strike.

Meanwhile, the Solidarity union leadership in the national aircraft industry decided Monday that the five-week old sit-in strike in the aircraft factory (PZL) in Rzeszow, southeast Poland, will be continued and may escalate into a general strike if the government fails to negotiate prospects for this branch of industry by the end of this month.

The strike committee representing the 2,500 strong workforce of the PZL-Hydral aircraft works in Wroclaw, southwest Poland, on strike for the second week now, resolved to carry the factory's export tasks while continuing protests. Hence, a group of 100 engineers, workers and technicians are currently working on a contract for a Norwegian firm.

"We want to be a reliable partner to our new customer," they argued and added that they also do not want to make the deplorable financial situation of their factory even worse.

The Health Service Trade Union Federation (OPZZ) staged Monday a nationwide protest action, consisting in hoisting black flags, against budgetary cuts in health care. In a separate development, two hospitals and a health centre in the north-west city of Bydgoszcz staged a Solidarity-backed strike demanding higher wages and other facilitations.

The group of 17 workers, on a hunger strike for nearly a month in the central industrial city of Lodz, rejected the government's proposals to solve the problems of the ailing light industry.

A timetable of talks between the light industry representatives and government, as proposed by the ministry of industry and trade, envisage talks on economic situation in the textile industry and its restructuring to be held between February 10 and March 10.

"Such a timetable would make us go on with a hunger strike till March," a strikers' representative commented.

Parties Meet To Assess Price Rises, Strikes

LD1901133792 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—The Democratic Union's Right-Wing Group (FDP) debating here Saturday [18 January] said that the recent wave of strikes posed a serious threat to Polish reforms. FDP's Chairman Kazimierz Ujazdowski declared that his grouping was determined not to allow "the state of all citizens to become subordinated to the trade unions which represented only a part of society." A resolution adopted by the FDP warns that the crisis of the state's prestige may result in Poland abandoning procapitalist economic changes and wasting the chance for constructing an efficient political system and a free market economy based on private ownership. The document also stresses

that the struggle of political cliques and personal ambitions hamper the process of reforms, fostering populist demagogy and preservation of the remnants of socialism.

The Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) said Saturday it was firmly opposed to the recent rises in the prices of energy, gas and central heating which led to more strikes in Poland. KPN announced it would strive for revalorization of wages and pensions as well as for more uniform and simplified structures of power and a thorough reform of the prices structure.

Protest actions against rises in energy prices staged by by trade unions last week were supported by the conference of delegates of the Polish Green Party which debated in Warsaw. The delegates said savings should be sought in more effecitve use of fuels and energy.

The main council of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) which gathered at a session here came out in favour of the acceleration of privatization and reprivatization. ZCHN leaders admitted that reprivatization was one of the most complex problems that faced Poland at present but said that property taken over unlawfully should be restored to the proper owners whenever possible.

In the opinion of the Democratic Party's (SD) Presidium the government's economic strategy should cover a policy towards small and medium-sized enterprises whose development favours the emergence of the middle class which is always a group toning down social emotions. The SD would like the Sejm (lower house) to examine the "surprising lack of reformatory effectiveness" of the former government of Prime Minister Bielecki which has led to the collapse of public finances and reduced to a minimum the present government's possibilities to act, the SD Presidium said.

Protests Continue; Talks Fail

LD1701215192 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—Two more people joined the ten-day old hunger strike held in the central city of Lodz since January 8 in protest against the dramatic detoriation of the textile industry.

The strikers, meeting with solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski on Thursday [16 January], agreed on the need for outlining of a timetable for competent negotiations on the textile industry. They also demanded a guarantor of such a timetable.

Today, Krzaklewski conveyed to the strikers information that he has briefed the prime minister on his talks with them during the Thursday evening meeting.

Meanwhile, Solidarity's intershop union commission at the Polish State Railways (PKP) in Tarnowskie Gory, southern Poland, on Friday [17 January] threatened to stage a two-hour warning strike on January 25 in case talks between the union's national section and the PKP's general management would end in a fiasco.

The intershop commission in an resolution adopted on Friday stressed the continuing worsening of the standard of living of those employed by PKP and argued that government plans to increase fares would lead to further fall in the number of passengers an thus push the enterprise into greater financial difficulties.

In Wroclaw, two-day talks between the strike committee representing over 2.5 thousand workers of the PZL-Hydral aircraft plant with the management ended in a fiasco on Friday. The crew, protesting against the catastrophic condition of the aircraft industry, decided to continue its sit-in after a weekend break.

The national committee for defence of pensioners and disabled persons staged a five-hour picket in Wroclaw, western Poland, on Friday. "The government is robbing pensioners and disabled person," was the leading motto of the demonstration.

Chairman of the committee Alicja Wysocka said that the goal of the demonstration was the suspension of the law on the old-age and disability pensions passed last October which led to the lowering of many allowances.

Sejm Bodies Support Martial Law Condemnation

AU2001132392 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 16—The Sejm (lower house) committees for legislation and for justice supported on Thursday [16 January] a draft resolution declaring the decision on the imposition of martial law in Poland to be illegal and in breach of the laws ten in force.

The resolution provides for setting up an extraordinary committee to examine the effects of the illegal impairment of civil freedoms and labour rights. It would also investigate possibilities for compensating citizens harmed for political reasons under martial law and possibly work out draft laws liquidating its negative effects.

The initiative to adopt such a resolution by the Sejm was put forward by the Solidarity parliamentary floor group and supported by several dozen other deputies. According to the masterminds of the resolution "no reliable evidence on the existence of any external threats to Poland's security in December 1981 has been provided so far." Therefore, they consider the resolution of December 12, 1981 imposing martial law contrary to the constitution.

Justifying the proposed resolution, deputies pointed out that the Sejm was in session in December 1981 and hence the then Council of State had no right to issue decrees. They also underlined that human rights were unconstitutionally restricted and the effects of actions taken in December 1981 are felt till now by many people. "Many offences against citizens have not been punished nor has harm done to them been compensated for," they stressed.

However, some deputies, while admitting the imposition of martial law was illegal, had doubts whether the new, democratic state should sustain costs of compensation for its victims. "The resolution means that our state is billed for the decisions of the authorities which were not ours," Jerzy Ciemniewski of the Democratic Union observed.

According to Solidarity Deputy Marek Markiewicz the Sejm might declare the illegality of martial law but block any financial claims. However, Bogdan Borusewicz argued that the economic situation should have no impact on legal judgements.

New Defense Minister Discusses Policy Objectives

AU2101094792 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 10 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Polish Defense Minister Jan Parys by Robert Terentiew; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Personnel Revolution"]

[Excerpts] [Terentiew] Is this your debut regarding military affairs?

[Parys] No. I worked on the economic aspect of national defense at the Central Planning Administration. I also dealt with international factors affecting state security and various options for Poland's relations with the East and the NATO countries. I have been studying security issues in their international context for well over 10 years. I have attended meetings organized by NATO and have delivered papers in Switzerland and France.

[Terentiew] I fear that the financial problems affecting defense are what matter most. Are you already familiar with this subject?

[Parys] I have only been dealing with the financing of the military for the past two years, but I am fully aware of the situation in which the military finds itself and the scale of its needs.

[Terentiew] Perhaps we cannot afford to maintain an army? So, let's disband it. After all, why should we not do that?

[Parys] We could also disband the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Health, but that will not make us any more cultured or healthier. Apart from that, as far as I know none of our neighbors are preparing to dissolve their armies. On the contrary, the countries that have emerged in the East intend to have armies that are strong and well-armed.

[Terentiew] What kind of army do we want to have?

[Parys] A stock phrase that is often repeated is that the army should be smaller but better armed. However, the previous two governments have only focused on the first part of that phrase. No decisions have been made that would enable our smaller army to be better armed. We cannot take things any further in that direction, because defense is has to be viewed in its entirety and outlays cannot be continually reduced. At some stage, we will reach a critical point and the whole defense system will collapse.

[Terentiew] Your military predecessor did not succeed in his campaign for more funding. Will the fact that your are a civilian minister be a help or a hindrance?

[Parys] I think that the question of the military budget should be viewed in terms of a struggle between the defense minister and the finance minister. I know that Prime Minister Olszewski attaches a great deal of importance to defense matters and under his leadership the army will receive as much as we can give it at the present time. On the other hand, we have a duty to spend these funds, which are not particularly large, in an effective manner. It always has to be borne in mind that the costs incurred by maintaining an army are always lower than the costs that the loss of independence entail.

[Terentiew] Who determines the character of the army—the lieutenants or the generals?

[Parys] I have no doubts about the need for generals, but there is no genuine alternative anyway. However, it seems to me that the present system for advancement has been functioning too slowly. I do not intend to institute some kind of vetting program, because the normal procedures for assessing personnel already exist. These procedures have to be continually improved and steps have to be taken to ensure that the principle for rotating persons holding posts is observed. Those who have reached retirement age and have performed their full term of service have to go. [passage omitted]

[Terentiew] Do you envisage a personnel revolution in the military?

[Parys] No, I do not envisage any kind of revolution, and what is more, I would like to assure those who feel perturbed that there will be no such revolution. I have not come to the Defense Ministry as some kind of broom, and my goal is to ensure a high level of training and professionalism in the military. That is the only thing that matters. [passage omitted]

[Terentiew] What would you say about the conflict that has erupted over forcing the former defense minister to retire?

[Parys] Let's be more precise. He is not in retirement as the press wrote, but has been transferred to the reserves. Rear Admiral Kolodziejczyk is entitled to a full pension. I believe that people have to be promoted, and all those who become entitled to pensions have to expect to retire. We cannot make any exceptions. That is all.

Government Recognizes Croatia, Slovenia 18 Jan

AU1801183492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The government has issued the following statement: Examining the requests addressed by the Croatian and Slovenian authorities, in the spirit of its principled position regarding the right to self-determination, the Romanian Government has decided to recognize the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia as independent states and declares its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with them.

Nastase Views Decision

LD2001163892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, January 20 (TANJUG)—By recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, Romania has not changed its stand on some controversial questions in Yugoslavia's crisis, such as the question of borders, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said in an interview to TANJUG on Monday [20 January].

"Romania believes that it is reasonable to recognize the continuity of the Yugoslav state, which, as we understand it, has been accepted also by the European Community," said Nastase. In his view, this is an unalianable right of the Yugoslav peoples, and "those who wish to remain together have the right to do so."

Nastase denied that Romania had been pressurized to recognize Slovenia and Croatia.

Romania recognized Yugoslavia's secessionist Republics of Slovenia and Croatia two days ago, thus joining an E.C. decision to recognize the two, which was followed by most of Yugoslavia's neighbours.

The Romanian foreign minister explained that his country's decision was primarily based on the existance of an explicit request by Slovenia and Croatia to be recognized as independent, and the fact that the self-determination of the peoples of Slovenia and Croatia was not opposed by the Republic of Serbia.

Romania has assessed that it would not be possible for it to continue cooperating in the quest of a positive solution to the Yugoslav crisis had it not recognized Slovenia and Croatia, said Nastase. He added, however, that Romania continued to support the respect of the rights of all Yugoslav peoples to self-determination, and retained its earlier positions towards the Yugoslav Republics. Nastase pointed out that Romania was especially interested in maintaining traditionally good relations with Serbia because of a large community of ethnic Romanians in that republic, and ethnic Serbs in Romania, as well as the fact that Serbia accounts for 80 percent of Romania's trade with Yugoslavia.

Nastase also explained why Romania has not recognized the Republics of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which had also requested the E.C. to recognize them.

Europe has reached consensus in the case of Slovenia and Croatia, while the "recognition of Macedonia would raise tensions and differences between different states, especially in the Balkans," said the Romanian foreign minister.

As far as Bosnia-Hercegovina is concerned, Romania believes that "various ethnic groups there do not have a clearly defined option and a generally accepted stand on the recognition of that republic does not exist."

Talks are under way on Bosnia-Hercegovina's stay in Yugoslavia, and Macedonia also does not rule out a possibility of various forms of association with Serbia and other Yugoslav republics, said Nastase, adding that the recognition of the two republics would therefore be too early.

The Romanian foreign minister assessed that the most important thing now was to establish a solid cease-fire and continue dialogue, adding, however, that all sides should refrain from actions which might increase tensions in Yugoslavia, such as further selective implementation of economic sanctions against some Yugoslav republics.

Nastase Receives Bosnia-Hercegovina Official

AU2001203492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/1/1992—Monday, January 20, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase talked with Sava Ceklic, undersecretary of state at the Ministry for International Collaboration of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, now on a visit to Romania.

At the end of the interview the guest stated: During this visit we wanted to know Romania's viewpoint on the developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina. As is known, Yugoslavia started to, fall apart, which makes me feel sorry. It would be better for the Yugoslav people to find ways of further living together, irrespective of the associative form they choose. It is important for a people itself to state its opinion on the type of state it wants to live in. In such a process no power ought to emerge and play the role of a tutor. Any form of collaboration with friendly Romania is highly valuable for us.

Mr. Sava Ceklic also conducted talks in Bucharest with Mr. Teodor Melescanu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Moldovan Agriculture Minister Visits 17-18 Jan

Talks With Stolojan

AU1801193092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/1/1992—Friday [17 January] afternoon Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan conferred at the Victoria Palace with Andrei Sangheli, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food of the Republic of Moldova. The interview was attended by Romanian Minister of Agriculture and Food Petre Marculescu.

In the statement made after the interview, Petre Marculescu specified that his counterpart in the Republic of Moldova came to Bucharest to finalise an action agreed upon during the recent meeting in Husi between Prime Ministers Theodor Stolojan and Valeriu Muravschi.

Referring to the talks held with his counterpart in the Republic of Moldova, both at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and at the government headquarters, Petre Marculescu stated that "all ways of collaboration were found in the sectors we proposed. We hope that in near future we have good results in the field of setting up joint ventures based in Chisinau [Kishinev] the target of which is the better capitalisation of farm outputs."

Andrei Sangheli stated to the press that, in principle, he was satisfied with the results of the talks. "We hope to continue this line of collaboration because, unfortunately, we have to solve similar problems," the guest from the Republic of Moldova concluded.

Assesses Results of Trip

AU1801193292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1411 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 18/1/1992—Andrei Sangheli, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food of the Republic of Moldova, visited Bucharest on January 17 and 18. The Moldovan dignitary had talks with Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and Agriculture and Food Minister Petre Marculescu.

Before departure, Andrei Sangheli stated to ROMPRES: "My presence in Bucharest proceeds under the provisions of the special protocol of collaboration in all domains, hence of agriculture and food industry as well, concluded during the December 1991 meeting in Husi of our countries' prime ministers.

"We have discussed now the ways of collaboration between our ministries already starting with the forthcoming spring farm campaign, detailing aspects of supply with seeds and seedling of high value, pest killers, etc. Likewise, we have planned the setting up of a joint company headquartered in Chisinau, with the Husi Farm Commercial Company with state capital and the Moldova Cricova State Farm Enterprise as main partners, due to start activity in the production of seedling, modern exploitation of plantations and production of high-quality wines competitive in the international market.

"I must stress it that the relations of collaboration grow ever more vigorously. Over 300 Moldovan experts were in Romania so far on fact-finding visits. We have established that a Romanian adviser should start working soon with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food in Chisinau and a Moldovan adviser be appointed to Romania's relevant ministry.

"I wish our relations to permanently develop, I wish that we have peace and quiet, in the absence of which we cannot overcome the multiple difficulties we both are living through", concluded Andrei Sangheli.

Stolojan Makes Statement on Reform, Salaries

AU2001164492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1007 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Introductory statement by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan at a news conference at government headquarters in Bucharest—live]

[Excerpts] First allow me to tackle the issue of the government program, as this theme keeps cropping up accompanied by criticism to the extent that the government has no program or that its program is not clear. This government's program was presented in Parliament during its investiture ceremony on 16 October 1991 and it contains the key targets this government must focus on, given the fact that this is a government that resulted from a governmental crisis, not a government elected to govern for a period of one, two, or four years. Right now, some people want this program changed. This, however, is a political act. Others want this program to be explained in greater detail. This government cannot change a program. It does not have the necessary time for that. The program was introduced and has been implemented for more than one and a half years through intensive legislative, institutional, and operational activity. The government can make certain corrections to the program and can continue its implementation. We know what has to be done. The fixed points of the transition to the market economy must be attained regardless of the political party that will win the elections or the coalition of parties that will make up the government. There are fixed points of the transition that must be attained. If they are not achieved this year, they will have to be achieved next year. If they are not achieved next year, then we will still have to come back to them when we decide to finally tackle the issue. However, transition without fiscal reform, monetary reform, and macroeconomic stability cannot take place. [passage omitted]

Since transition to the market economy in Romania presupposes the attainment of targets in conditions that are specific to our country, regardless of the various

political platforms, the National Economic Research Institute is currently bringing up to date and developing possible strategies for the transition in Romania. These strategies may provide corroboration for various political platforms. The government decided to make public, through its specialized department, the progress of economic reform in various fields, to meet halfway certain demands and also to prove that any present and future measure taken by this government is strictly aimed at implementing the targets of transition. We approach the transition effort from an economic viewpoint first and foremost, namely by focussing on creating assets so that this economy can begin to reply to the market impulses in the new conditions.

At the same time, the government must administer the imbalances specific to the current period. In this respect, we remind those who are rather forgetful that this government prevented an energy collapse, consequently a production collapse, which became apparent at the start of November. I advise those who easily forgot it to reread the press of the end of last October-beginning of last November, which reported on daily production breakdowns in various enterprises due to energy shortages and their series of effects. Likewise, we would like to remind those people that this government has prevented, as far as it could, a disaster of the agricultural fall campaign.

A second issue constantly brought up is that there are no clear prospects for 1992. We did make these prospects public, but, since they are too clear, this does not suit certain quarters. Well, let us see what the prospects for 1992 are, from the angle of this government, in keeping with its ability to achieve them until the expiration of its mandate with the coming elections, after which the new government will have to carry on. Our main goal is to stabilize the production, which means halting its decline. This is a most ambitious goal. Many forecasts were made. Ours is the most optimist variation. This 1992 goal, which is quite attainable, relies first on this optimistic assessment that there is a real possibility to halt the decline of production, compared with 1991. Certain subbranches and trade companies continue to decrease, while others are growing; we can supply examples for both cases. Second, the stabilization of production relies on ensuring the minimal imports required by the economy, which we would like to achieve by stimulating exports. I can tell you that we will soon publish the export figures for December, which reflect an impressive increase in the volume of exports—unfortunately, not also in the volume of revenues. At the same time, I would like to recall that I asked the banks to devise a system for stimulating exports so that the trade companies with valid export contracts can have free access to financing in lei and hard currency. Without stimulating exports, there is only one direction left open to Romania, and that is downward. This is an absolute requirement, as long as we are committed to democracy and the market economy.

At the same time, we will also ensure the minimum imports required by the economy through foreign financing of an approximately 1.5 billion [currency not specified] deficit in the balance of payments—the analysis is not over yet, but that figure should be close to reality. I would like to remind everybody that this external financing is achieved through accords primarily concluded with international financial organizations and the developed countries belonging to what is known as the Group of 24. These accords can only be concluded if we maintain the credibility of the Romanian reform. We will achieve this production stabilization by continuing the economic restructuring process, in its two aspects, namely, structural reforms, ownership, fiscal measures, and so forth, on the one hand, and actual technological and technical restructuring, on the other hand.

A second target for 1992, which this government aims at and believes it can achieve, is the stability of prices and tariffs, that is maintaining their evolution within the envisaged limits. We are not talking about freezing or halting prices, but rather ensuring their evolution within the envisaged limits. We consider that the economy is still under the impact of the unification of the leu's convertibility rates on 15 November 1991. However, its effect is not been fully felt everywhere in the economy. [passage omitted] This leads to serious distortions in the system of prices, which—we suggested—should be eliminated in about two years, so as to no longer create price-increase shocks and avoid instability and constant movement and jumps in the system of prices, thus hampering the smooth activity of the economy agents. [passage omitted]

The stability of prices and tariffs must be aided by a restrictive monetary policy of credit and financing, particularly for the economic agents registering losses. Only by stabilizing the production and prices can we hope to stabilize the living standard and halt its decline. No living standard guarantees can be offered to anyone as long as production declines. It is up to the employees, trade unions, and all of us to implement this 1992 choice. Together, by acting jointly, we will either implement this 1992 option suggested by the government or let it fail, through—you all know that—production stoppages and losses, with their due effects on the further decline of production, price instability, and so forth. [passage omitted]

The third problem is the government's decisions on the policy of incomes, particularly wages. People easily forget that we are a developing country and that the gap between the developed and developing countries was not invented by either capitalism or socialism. [passage omitted] According to data supplied by international bodies, in 1990 Romania had a national gross production of $1,620 per capita, meaning the middle group of the developing countries, whose range is between $1,196 and $2,465 per capita. Aside from eliminating this development gap, we are also faced with another crucial

problem, namely to build the market-economy mechanisms and create the institutional and human infrastructures required by the market economy. [passage omitted] To this end, the government works to eliminate limits on individual salaries— which is not a matter of mere accountancy, but also a clear matter of serious analysis, jointly performed by the management and trade unions in each enterprises, on the real possibility of each trade company to raise wages—and to check the rise in salaries to avoid inflation. [passage omitted] We consider that prices, with some exceptions, are still evolving within admissible limits. There are some anomalies, to be sure. Life has shown us that economic freedom is one thing, while the behavior of certain trade companies is quite abusive in certain cases. The real rise in salaries can only be made in correlation with the growth of productivity. We must resolutely end the practices of 1990, which I referred to with the understatement as having consisted exclusively of repairs and claims; there were also months when salaries were paid without anything having been produced. But those were the specific conditions of that year. [passage omitted]

Salary increases solely based on productivity growth can only be achieved in two ways: through the reduction of excess manpower and the rise in technical and technological standards through actions subordinated to productivity and efficiency, in the long run. I emphasize, these actions should serve productivity, not the ideas of modernization for the mere sake of it, regardless of costs and so forth. In the short term, the first alternative is the one to follow, namely eliminating excess manpower where it exists, but not in a chaotic way. [passage omitted]

Salaries cannot be increased by repeated indexations unless production also rises. The consequences of unjustified salary increases are very clear, at least for me: They mean the loss of one year of transition, if one also takes into account the various elections scheduled for this year. Let us remember that local elections are going to be held on 9 February and, as all political parties agreed, general elections will be held two to three months later. This is a clear electoral cycle with implications for all phenomena in the economy, including the quite palpable possibility of failure to finalize the accords of foreign financing, with its known effects on energy imports and the production in general. The government's behavior in this situation can only be pragmatic and in accordance with the law.

Concerning the dialogue with the trade unions, I can say that it proceeded smoothly, and there are no hard feelings on either side. On the contrary, I even told some trade union leaders that I sympathize with them, since I realize that they are beginning to know more than we do about certain matters pertaining to labor relations, which is only to be expected, as they have been preparing for this dialogue for more than a year, while this government, which is the outcome of a governmental crisis, has not yet developed an appropriate structure for social dialogue with the trade unions and the employers. Therefore, we intend to leave for the coming government our ready observations about developing such a structure for dialogue, which is becoming most important for the country. [passage omitted]

Political stability in a country such as Romania that undergoes profound structural changes does not mean the continuous presence of the same people at the head of the government and other institutions. It resides in the consistency of the policy of economic reform. Governments come and go, but stability means consistent policy, not the perseverance of the same figures at the helm of the government or other bodies of the society. At the same time I will insist, as far as it lies in my power, that general elections should be held, as all political parties agreed, two to three months after the local elections. [passage omitted] Those who do not realize the imperative requirement for holding general elections as soon as possible do not understand the imperious requirements of this economy, both from a political and economic viewpoint: From a political viewpoint, because it is not possible for a country to constantly experience one contest after the other; and from an economic viewpoint, because no country can support for too long a government with a limited life. It is obvious that these elections will have to take place—if not in March, then in April, if not in April then in May, or later. The later they are held, the worse it will be for us all from an economic viewpoint, because the government must conclude financial accords of external financing. Imagine yourselves in the shoes of those who have to conclude such an accord. To have continuity here, we must first define the political electoral program quite clearly. Failure to define the political electoral program jeopardizes the program of agreements for Romania's external financing, which, at the risk of repeating myself, is most serious for Romania today. Therefore, it is urgently necessary to speedily fix the date of general elections. [passage omitted]

Holds News Conference

AU2001190492

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1000 GMT on 20 January 1992 carries a live relay of a news conference by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan from the Government Headquarters in Bucharest. Before answering questions Stolojan makes a 37-minute statement on government decisions regarding salaries, issued on 18 January.

The question and answer session begins at 1044 GMT with an exchange on measures to improve economic situation and situation in agriculture. Stolojan says that "in 1991 a correct antiinflationary salary system was established that ensured limits on individual salaries. Such a system represented a step forward compared to 1990, but it did not stimulate the increase of productivity." "The year 1992 is another step forward in eliminating all individual salary limits, and the real possibility

exists that each person, at the level of each commercial society, in accordance with the possibilities of the respective commercial society, will act clearly for the increase of productivity that should ensure a rise in the salary level." In connection with agriculture he expresses the belief that the "agrarian reform is a very correct measure" but "unfortunately a whole system that remained in ensuring services for agriculture was shaped according to the old system in which the big cooperative units were negotiating issues and not millions of landowners. So, at the moment there is a break in the system and it has to be corrected practically and the necessary modifications made, which is simple matter; it requires time."

Asked by a foreign reporter how long the process of industry's retechnologization can last, Stolojan gives a concrete example of how negotiations with a foreign company for the retechnologization of a Romanian unit lasted for three years. He considers this too long and believes that retechnologisation should not start from "macroeconomic adventures."

In connection with the "standby agreement with the International Monetary Fund" Stolojan says that "an agreement was concluded with Romania for a period of one year. Negotiations are presently under way on a similar agreement, and "we do not know yet the financial and economic conditions of this agreement." The government decisions are in agreement "with general economic principles" and "maintaining control over economy" and "preventing inflation" will not contradict the IMF nor the Group of 24. Regarding the picture Romania presents abroad, Stolojan says that "our duty is to show that this country is governable and that it does not encourage political, economic, or financial chaos."

In connection with a question regarding subventions, he says that the government does not stick to a certain minimum salary at the moment, it can be another figure "as long as it leaves open the way for dialogue with everybody who proposes to verify the credibility of transition in Romania." He mentions that the government was thinking of establishing an 11,100 lei minimum salary, but all subsidies would have been lifted. However, he would not want to raise the electric energy and fuel prices at this point, thus he believes that it is better to agree on a lower figure representing the minimum salary.

Asked "who does not want Romania to enter a normal path, and who does not want local and general elections to take place?" Stolojan says that "all those who must face the moment of truth and try to avoid truth" are against elections.

Asked whether he believes that the 24,000 lei minimum salary requested by trade unions is a diversion on an economic level that aims at a political goal, namely his and his entire government's resignation, Stolojan says that he does not want to discuss the issue of diversion. He says he does not think of resignation, however, he does not exclude such a possibility "if we were forced to do things for which we later would feel ashamed to look our successors in the eye." He says that there are several examples in Romania that show an improvement of the economy in various units, thus proving that "we are on the right road."

Asked why Romania wants to participate in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and how the executive changed its policy in three days on the issue of recognizing the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, Stolojan says that the CIS is not a clear organization, but Romania wants to join the Council of Europe and the Common Market "and we can join many bodies, as long as it is good for us." He believes that Romania is not prepared yet to join certain organizations. As far as the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia is concerned, he said that the Foreign Ministry examined the question and "reached the conclusion that the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia by very many countries" should be followed by the decision to recognize those republics.

A reporter from the Managua newspaper BARRICADA asks why the leadership of Radio and Television has not been replaced. Stolojan answers that this does not entirely depend on the government. The issue was discussed with the president and the heads of the parliamentary chambers, but it is not a simple operation "it has a clear impact on the country" and such a move has to be a very seriously considered.

Regarding last night's National Salvation Front communique on the government decision on salaries, Stolojan says that he has to seriously study the subject because he always examines every proposal, no matter where it comes from.

Asked about the increase of agricultural produce prices, such as 300 lei or 600 lei per kilogram of meat supplied by different agricultural units, Stolojan admits that "meat prices are negotiated freely," and in Bucharest various prices were accepted by economic agents because they were going to sell meat anyway to the population, so they "accepted prices without any responsibility." He says that this situation has to be stopped and corrected. Regarding the question of "collective labor contracts," the government held discussions on the issue at various levels, with directors of enterprises and trade unions, but according to Stolojan the situation of commercial societies is too complicated, and the collective contract problem is "a sensitive issue" and negotiations continue.

Stolojan believes that "the best way to increase labor productivity is to eliminate the excessive labor force" and strive to eliminate inflation and discusses the system of prices, as an effect of unification of exchange rate. He says that the government proposed to achieve in two years the elimination of the difference of prices in case of the basic products and electric energy.

Asked about the recent measures of establishing minimum salaries and from what resources the salaries will be covered, Stolojan says that "the increase of salaries resulting from a movement of prices, was taken into

consideration when state budget and the level of prices was calculated." On the basis of these calculations he hopes that "no undesired increase of inflation will arise."

Asked whether he believes that the Stolojan government will have the same support as the Roman government since the trade unions threaten to strike and the situation in Jiu Valley is not calm, Stolojan says that considering the time required for the formation of a new government and the time necessary for the electoral campaign, it would mean "to loose another year in the period of transition," and this should be considered seriously.

A reporter representing the newspaper of the teachers says that the education will start with a deficit of 40 billion lei, thus teachers will have a 6 percent lower minimum salary than employees of commercial societies. Stolojan admits that there are budget and salary problems, but the Army has a 145-billion lei deficit and health care has several billions in defecits, and it has to be accepted that when production decreases, expenses cannot rise.

Stolojan mentions that "the standard of living decreased by 20 percent" in Romania. If production decreases "nobody can maintain a high standard of living." Then, Stolojan discusses the activity of commercial societies, regarding increase of prices and salaries and ways to stimulate activity.

Stolojan rejects the "tough words" of a Bonn reporter who asks about "the catastrophic situation" and the "chaos" in Romania. He mentions that "situation is difficult but not catastrophic"; however the elections are very important because "we do not want to create new difficulties, just ease the situation." Regarding "chaos," he says that Romania had one of the most difficult situations in East Europe, with a "economic disproportion" whose " "consequences we feel now." What the government is trying now, Stolojan says, is to boost the existing investments and "channel the recourses obtained from abroad toward agriculture" and "energy objectives in industry."

In conclusion, Stolojan explains the importance of general elections "because they will show the political will of the population regardless of the fact that this will be what some people abroad or at home expect."

Asked whether Romania is moving toward a certain centralization Stolojan says "one cannot talk about centralization. However, there are certain phenomena that function differently than one would want." He gives examples in the electric energy system," which cannot function independently." "There are other installations that are maintained centralized in an artificial way."

Asked about measures to halt people's negative reaction toward the national currency, Stolojan mentions that interest rates on people's savings have been increased and financial instruments such as bonds and actions should be introduced, although certain commercial agencies are reluctant to do so.

Asked whether the 8,500 lei minimum salary is negotiable or whether he will resign, Stolojan says that he cannot make decisions that he would regret later. He cannot accept a postponement of general elections, and he is firmly convinced that the general elections are very important from political point of view because the lack of certainty about the general elections has a negative effect on economy, thus he cannot accept the postponement of general elections indefinitely.

International

Military District Notes Albanian Border Incident

LD1701212192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—In connection with the incident the day before yesterday on the Yugoslav-Albanian border in the Dzepiste area near Debar, an incident in which one person died, the information service of the 3d Military District has issued the following communique:

"On 15 January, a soldier on duty noticed two Albanian illegal immigrants near the border and heard two explosions. The illegal immigrants, who entered about 68 meters into Yugoslav territory, were halted. Soon afterwards, a third person appeared and began hitting the soldier with a stone, while the other two threw the soldier onto the ground."

The soldier, the communique says further, "having picked himself up from the ground, managed to push away one of the attackers and shoot dead the second one, who was holding a gun. The soldier then injured the other attacker in the leg as he was trying to escape. The injured man was given first aid and taken to the Debar medical center."

An investigation was conducted by the Debar Ministry of Internal Affairs and organs of the military police. The Command of the 3d Military District announced that proceedings are under way.

Conference Commissions Consult on EC Recognition

LD1901134492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By Sime Vuckovic]

[Text] Brussels, Jan 16 (TANJUG)—Three expert commissions of the Conference on Yugoslavia—for institutional questions, for human rights and for economic relations—ended two-day consultations in Brussels today.

Consultations, as underscored in Brussels, rather than the planned official meetings, since the delegation from Serbia, after yesterday's decision of the European Community (E.C.) to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, insisted on their informal character. The debate largely passed in separate talks of the presidents of the three expert commissions with their members.

The recognition of the two republics as independent states, the Serbian delegation believes, changes the circumstances in which the conference started out. For this reason it cannot continue work on the hitherto legal foundations, i.e. new ones must be defined given the changes in the relations between the E.C. and Yugoslavia as well as among the Yugoslav participants in the conference.

A new political agreement on the future work of the conference is needed as new subjects will be established in it, with essentially different mutual relations. The Serbian representatives assess that the E.C.'s political engagement has lost its legal value since the E.C. has abandoned the principles of the Brioni Declaration and has overstepped its mandate, initially limited to lending good offices.

Serbia wishes to continue to take part in political negotiations on a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis but previously is seeking that the questions be cleared up, specifically that it receive answers from those who convened the conference.

It has been learned that several other delegations believe that the conference cannot be continued in the same way and that its starting point, content and framework must be reexamined. Another question arises in connection to this: Can the November 4 version of Lord Carrington's peace plan remain the basis for further negotiations.

Slovenia is insisting on a revision of the concept of the conference, in view of the altered status of the two Republics, now independent states. Thus, the Slovenian delegation says, new subjects have to be defined, refering not only to the two new states but also to forms of future participation of those which remain within the Yugoslav community.

Experts from Slovenia, as well as from Croatia, expect a forth expert commission to be formed, a commission for the legal successor to Yugoslavia, based on the thesis that all, even the republics which gain independence, are its legal successors. The questions can be cleared up only at a plenary session of the conference and at the highest level. For this reason conference sources indicate that Lord Carrington could soon, perhaps as early as next week, invite the six presidents of hitherto Yugoslavia to come to Brussels.

Federal

Brovet Briefs Assembly on UN Forces Deployment

AU1701154092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Delegates of the SFRY Assembly Committee for National Defense have discussed the current situation in the country. The necessary information was provided by Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense. Here is a report by Mijusko Tomic:

[Begin recording] [Tomic] Admiral Brovet first spoke about the implementation of the Geneva and Sarajevo agreements on a cease-fire and on establishing a truce. As regards the Geneva agreement, which was signed on 23

November, Croatian armed formations have not observed it and have carried out 1,277 attacks at Yugoslav People's Army facilities and units. The Yugoslav People's Army, however, has strictly obeyed the cease-fire and responded only when human lives were threatened. Regarding the lifting of blockades from barracks and Army facilities, Croatia has not in a single case complied with this obligation. According to Brovet, the Sarajevo agreement has been obeyed the most. (?In fact), this is a convention of the Geneva agreement, Brovet pointed out.

From 3 January—when the Sarajevo agreement was signed—until the recognition of Croatia, Croatia attacked Yugoslav People's Army units and military facilities 106 times. To these 106 violations, the Army responded in only 17 cases. Therefore, as Admiral Brovet pointed out, the essence of the concept of the UN peacekeeping forces operations is to (?form) protective regions on the territory of Krajina and western and eastern Slavonia. Borders will be (?agreed or be) a matter of agreement between the organs of power in the field. Admiral Brovet then said the following:

[Brovet] (?This is) Vukovar, that is, to the east and west of Vukovar, as well as certain local communities to the east of Vinkovci. Western Slavonia would encompass the communes of Grubisno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, western parts of the commune of Nova Gradiska, and western parts of Novska.

In Krajina, there would be the communes of Kostajnica, Petrinja, Dvor on the Una, Glina, Vrginmost, Vojnic, Slunj, Titova Korenica, Donji Lapac, Gracac, Obrovac, Benkovac, and Knin.

However, the concept envisages for the specific borders of this protected region to be agreed between the organs of power in the field.

[Tomic] Apart from the UN forces, no other armed formations could be present there. Units of the territorial defense in the Krajinas would be disarmed, but would not be disbanded. Weapons would be stored in depots and placed under the control of local representatives of internal affairs organs and the UN forces.

According to Admiral Brovet, the arrival of the main body of the UN forces, about 10,000 people, may be expected three weeks after the time the UN secretary general decides to send them. Admiral Brovet also answered questions asked by delegates of the SFRY Assembly National Defense Committee attending the session, and we will inform you about that in more detail later. [end recording]

Parliament Prepares 'New Yugoslavia' Concept

LD2001185692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 20 (TANJUG)—The two chambers of Yugoslav parliament have made a draft law on conditions and procedure for the realization of the right to self-determination, sources in federal parliament say today. The law sets out steps and decisions to be taken for the creation of a new Yugoslavia. The document suggests that the new community be made up of nations and republics which want to remain in Yugoslavia.

The law is to be adopted by emergency procedure in mid-February at a session of the federal chamber of the Yugoslav parliament. If the law is adopted in February, a constituent or provisional parliament would be set up. It would be made up of representatives of nations which want to live in Yugoslavia and each republic would have 30 representatives. The new parliament of the new Yugoslavia could be constituted this fall.

Until then, there would be two federal parliaments—the existing federal parliament and the provisional, that is the constituent. The former would deal with current and topical issues, while the latter would work on the adoption of new documents (constitution, electoral law, etc.). The law to be adopted in mid-February would be the basis for a historic reconstruction of Yugoslavia. Its borders remain unknown, but all nations would democratically decide about this. The point is to ensure a legal framework for the right to self-determination and, at the same time, enable those nations, which so wish, to remain in Yugoslavia, and thus preserve the continuity of Yugoslavia.

The law is to ensure that the independence of certain parts of Yugoslavia not be recognized until all material questions are cleared up, as well as problems relating to territories and borders with those republics which want to leave.

Official Praises U.S., Russia, PRC 'Restraint'

AU1801164492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, today gave an interview to the Green Megahertz Program on the second channel of Belgrade Radio. From a fairly long interview with him, we have selected the part that refers to U.S., Russian, and Chinese restraint in the recognition of the secessionist republics in Yugoslavia:

[Begin Maksic recording] The behavior of the United States, and I would also immediately say Russia—the Russian Federation, as a sort of legal successor of international obligations of the former USSR—and, of course, China, I am speaking on the basis of their official statements, have prompted us to give them credit for prudence. They have adopted an approach that proceeds from the fact that no one in Yugoslavia should be discriminated on behalf of or against, and that Yugoslavia is an entity in the state, social, economic and every other sense, an entity that has already entered its eighth decade and in which there are close ties.

There are also strong strategic interests for the Balkans, in the sense that a central state should not disappear, as this state was a source of equilibrium in this sensitive area. Therefore, they want to wait and allow time for the recent progress in this process—in the quest for a peaceful solution to work—so that the Yugoslavs can, to a great extent, find a solution with their own hands and heads, I would say cool heads, a solution that would be accepted by the international community.

It is known that the EC stand was influenced by the German bloc to a great extent. One should not forget that, thanks to this turn of events, Germany succeeded—given the new character of relations with the former USSR and changes in the former Soviet bloc—in literally annulling the basic results of World War II. It is possible that there are intentions to annul the results of World War I, on the basis of which Yugoslavia was created. Direct economic or military interests are not always at the heart of the matter. The activities of some countries could be influenced by psychological needs, the necessity to remove the burden of frustration, or by an inferiority complex. Someone who lost two wars may want to establish a psychological balance within itself, among its own people and their aspirations, whereby the victor of both these wars would be reduced to a lower level, thus creating a general national, and I would add bourgeois, and in any case nationalist, feeling of satisfaction.

I am not going to go into an analysis of all these motives, but we do not have the right to forget this aspect of things either. [end recording]

Maksic Views Impact of Changes in Europe

LD2001190192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksic told the federal parliament today that the changed balance of power in Europe was considerably affecting Yugoslavia's position on the continent.

In order to define its place in new Europe, Yugoslavia first has to define itself and constitute itself as an acceptable partner to others, Maksic said in the foreign policy committee of the federal chamber of the bicameral Yugoslav parliament.

Maksic said that the "recognition of independence of Slovenia and Croatia deeply infringed on the recognized sovereign rights of Yugoslavia" which have been recognized in "all major international documents, from the U.N. Charter to the CSCE documents," Maksic said.

Every country which recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia was sent a protest note, Maksic said. However, alongside of this, talks are being held with all those acting on the formation of international relations.

The recognition of independence of the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia "in fact encouraged secession," Maksic said. The act reaffirmed the method of pressure and violence in international relations, which was a danger to concern all others, not only Yugoslavia, Maksic said.

He added that political motives were now stronger than law as he pointed out that some countries did not even abide by their own decisions. An example was the stand of the European Community that it would not recognize certain Yugoslav republics until a "comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis was found."

About the statement by Italian President Francesco Cossiga, that Italy was willing to deliver arms to Slovenia and Croatia, Maksic said that this was a "flagrant violation of principles of good-neighbourliness and a direct violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions banning arms deliveries to Yugoslavia."

What is happening to and in Yugoslavia now is part of the overall changes in Europe where the "strengthening of the German bloc" has been conspicuious, said Maksic.

General Raseta Says Army's Role 'Unchanged'

LD1901145992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1107 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia (JNA) Gen. Andrija Raseta has stated that, irrespective of certain foreign states' recognition of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, the role of the JNA remains unchanged and its major task is to generate conditions for peace and arrival of U.N. peace troops.

In his last night's interview on TV Politika, the excerpts from which are carried in today's daily POLITIKA, Gen. Raseta said he believed peace would begin to reign in Yugoslavia because the parties to the conflict had become aware of a peaceable resolution of problems. Gen. Raseta stressed that there were no reasons for disrespecting the agreed truce, and added that there was enough of war, destruction, killings and losses of human lives.

Asked whether Croatian paramilitary formations might seriously violate the ceasefire, Gen. Raseta, who represents the JNA at the negotiations with Croatian authorities and who plays host to the advance team of a U.N. peace-keeping force, answered that individual excesses were not ruled out.

In the past few days, said Gen. Raseta, 12 major provocations by Croatian forces have taken place. He added that this would not be tolerated and individuals would be prevented from making provocations.

Commenting on the fears, shown by people in the predominantly Serb-populated Krajina within Croatia's administrative borders, concerning the possible genocide

that might take place after the withdrawal of JNA units, Gen. Raseta underscored that it was out of the question that Croatia's armed formations would intervene in this zone because such an intervention would virtually mean their conflict with U.N. troops. In the past history, said Gen. Raseta, it has never happened that any party broke its accord with the United Nations and attacked its troops.

As for the mounting rumours about a large-scale build-up of Croatian forces, Gen. Raseta said that the U.N. Security Council's obligation was to see to it that an embargo on arms deliveries to Croatia was being respected.

Observers' Report Levels Accusations at JNA

LD1801194392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Paris, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—French papers today carried a report by "a group of foreign observers" which seriously accuses the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serbian volunteers of committing crimes against Croatian civilians in Krajina, Baranja and Western Srem. The papers do not explain whether the report is an official document, who wrote it and whether the E.C. observer mission has verified it.

They only claim that the report was prepared by "a five-member team" and that it contains "testimonies, photographs and video tapes". No evidence is offered as to whether anybody else has seen the documents in addition to the anonymous team.

Judging by the stories in today's papers, the crimes listed in the report are identical with those which members of the Croatian Guard Corps and the Black Legion are known to have committed against Serbs.

Much publicity was also given in Paris today to a statement by Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Jensen, who said that naval units of the Western European Union made possible the evacuation of Dubrovnik civilians only after threatening to put out of action Yugoslav Navy ships.

Some observers in Paris see these press reports as opening the second stage of the propaganda campaign in the West which is now focusing on the Yugoslav People's Army.

Secretariat Calls Report 'Bogus'

LD1801193892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—In reaction to a bogus report by an unidentified group of EC observers—which "confidential" rapporteurs delivered to a number of influential institutions and the media—about alleged crimes committed by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in Croatia, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense (SSNO) expresses its profound indignation and insists on the identification of the "group of experts" and their evidence, the SSNO Information Office has announced.

An anonymous group of observers provided evidence of its extreme discrimnatory attitude by the fact that it chose to totally ignore the incontrovertible evidence produced by the JNA of the crimes committed by the Croatian Army which, in their bestiality, exceed the Ustashe example of 50 years ago.

This political forgery cannot be seen as anything but an attempt to misuse the sensitive issue of human rights in order to justify the flagrant violation of the integrity of the Yugoslav state by recognizing Croatia as a sovereign state, to exonerate it from the crimes it has committed, and at the same time to justify the EC support for such a policy.

We wish to note that, in this way, the EC will not be able to absolve itself of the responsibility for the latest exacerbation of the conflict in Croatia. The mysterious report by an unidenitfied group of EC observers may also be seen as a powerful and well-planned contribution to such efforts, the SSNO Information Office says in conclusion.

Capacity of JNA Missile Systems Assessed

92BA0332D Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 91 p 15

[Article by Zeljko Luburovic: "Missile Installations of the Yugoslav Army: Powerful, but Not Indestructible"]

[Text] When the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] threatened that the JNA [Yugoslav Army] would self-destruct its missile installation in Kesterinac near Zagreb if the Croatian army attempted by armed action to capture the facility and equipment, there was discussion that the fuel of those missiles is a chemical weapon. It is said that during the negotiations about withdrawing units of the JA from Zagreb the Yugoarmy was happiest when it was allowed to take those fuels away with it and that its generals wiped sweat from their brows with relief when they heard this good news. Some sources suspect that the JA was only interested in that fuel and that because of that desire the SSNO trumped up the story about the fuel as a chemical weapon.

The interesting thing is that actually there is quite a bit of truth in that information. The fuel of those missile systems—we are talking about Volkhov missiles manufactured in the Soviet Union—are chemical weapons affecting the blood and nervous system. According to the characteristics noted in the book *Rakete V-755* [*The V-755 Missiles*], published by the Air Defense Missile Training Center of the JA in 1972, the propellant TG-02 is in its chemical composition 50 percent xylidine isomer and 50 percent diethylamines and triethylamines. The oxidizer AK-2-OK, which is a necessary component of the propellant of those rockets, is 73 percent nitric acid. It contains between 17.5 and 22.5 percent nitrogen oxides, a little bit of water, and between 0.5 and 0.7 percent orthophosphoric acid and hydrogen fluoride.

A Dangerous Fuel

The experts say that the only danger from those rockets was precisely because of the chemical composition of their propellants, not because of their destructive power. Especially because they were intended for striking targets in the air, although they can be used to strike targets on the surface, which then may not be lower than the level of the missile's launching ramp. The Volkhov missiles—or SAM-2, as they are called in NATO, were deployed in Zabok, Cerklje, Zazina near Sisak, and Karlovac. The system near Cerklje was moved back in July to Bihac under an agreement between Slovenia and the JA, and we must assume that the Yugoarmy also smuggled the system from Karlovac and transferred it piece by piece to Bihac, because no one ever mentioned them in negotiations concerning withdrawal of the JA from Karlovac. It is a fact that the installations at Zabok and Zazina are still in the hands of the JA and that most probably their future will be decided by negotiations between the Croatian army and the JA in the Zagreb hotel "I."

The missile installations at Zabok and Zazina could possibly strike surface targets—because in this uneven war Croatia does not have an air force—and they would be in the vicinity of Samobor and Sisak, but would have very little, almost no destructive effect. What is written in the books that cover missile installation shows that surface-to-air missiles are almost harmless against surface targets, especially because of their combat characteristics. It is interesting, for example, that a missile must always be in a somewhat inclined position so that the fuel feed mechanism can operate. Otherwise, the propellant section of the missile is extinguished and it falls to the ground literally like a log. So, it is essential not to be precisely under it when it falls to the ground. After all, it will not explode.

The Volkhov's combat characteristics are not strikingly good. This is a very outdated system whose greatest defect is that it is static. It strikes airborne targets moving at a speed up to 1,000 meters per second at altitudes between 100 and 2,500 meters. It has a self-activating system triggered between 76 and 86 seconds from the moment the missile is launched. In addition to the Volkhov system, the Yugoarmy also has the Neva, i.e., SAM-4, Dvina, or SAM-2, and KUB-M, or SAM-6, systems, as well as the smaller system Strela 1 and Strela 2, homing missiles of shorter range which are mainly support for the larger missile systems. In Slovenia, there were two Strela systems at Ilidrska Bistrica and Pivka, and in Croatia at Jastrebarsko, Varazdin, and Bjelovar. According to published war reports, some of the installations in Croatia have been captured and some withdrawn by decision under the agreement in Hotel "I." One Neva system—it consisted of four battalions deployed in Vrhnica, Ljubljana Polje, and Sentvilje—was in Ljubljana, and one was in Skopje. The KUB-M system was at Pleso, near Zagreb. Both Mostar and Belgrade each received two battalions of a missile regiment with Neva systems transferred from Slovenia. The Neva and Dvina systems are outdated. They date back to the late fifties and early sixties. Because it is technologically outdated, the Dvina missile regiment used to defend Belgrade was transformed with the Neva system into a mixed missile brigade, but certain more recent reports indicate that the Dvina has been scrapped. The Neva is a shorter-range system than the Volkhov and has less firepower. It is a static and clumsy system, and its firing positions must always be prepared.

Missiles From Karlovac in Petrinja

The KUB-M, or SAM-6, missile system is called the hero of the 1973 Israeli-Arab war because of the performances it displayed at that time. It is intended for striking aircraft at medium and low altitudes, and these systems are or were deployed in Skopje, Nis, Kragujevac, Sarajevo, Zadar, and Zagreb. The interesting thing about all these systems is that they are operated by a relatively small number of people, no more than a maximum of 30, but their combat deployment is very broad—about 20 km from the command post. It is also interesting that all these systems are easily evaded, and they do not represent any very significant danger to pilots of warplanes. The systems are susceptible to jamming, and a skillful pilot who literally breaks them up in the air with a good maneuver. Most of the systems can operate in concert, but also independently, but in view of the character of the war being waged against Croatia, they are almost harmless, if not in fact harmless, for us. The systems are very expensive, and one missile alone in 1989 cost $30,000, part of which was, of course, paid by the Croatian worker.

By contrast with surface-to-air missiles, many are inclined to the assertion that the greatest danger threatening Croatia is from the missile systems of the ground forces of the JA. Although, this should not be omitted, most experts agree that the power of the rocket artillery of the Yugoarmy is also overestimated. What that Army has in its arsenal of artillery rocket systems is almost impossible to locate, because at the moment almost all of these systems are somewhere on the fronts of Croatia. We know, however, that the artillery rocket regiment from Karlovac, for example, was moved to Petrinja some two years ago. Coincidence—ha, ha! Before the war broke out in Croatia, an antiarmor missile brigade was deployed in Krizevci and there were also quite strong missile installations in Varazdin and Virovitica. In Slovenia, there were important garrisons in Postojna, Rakek, and Maribor. By and large, the principle was for every garrison to have rocket artillery, if only as battalion support. Every garrison had at least one battery of Ogonj or Plamen multibarrel rocket launchers. It is interesting that the artillery rocket installations were serviced in Bergana, but at the beginning of the war everything was transferred to Kragujevac and Titovo Uzice. Coincidence—ha, ha!

The JA's rocket artillery arsenal includes the Plamen M63 multibarrel rocket launcher with a caliber of 128 mm. The range of its projectiles is 8,545 meters, the system is highly mobile and suitable for mobile actions.

It is intended for battalion support, although it can also be used as an independent battery of six guns. Each gun can be loaded with 32 rockets. Beyond that, the JA also possesses the 128-mm Ogonj M77 self-propelled multibarrel rocket launcher (SVLR). The range of its projectiles is 20,800 meters, and it also can be loaded with 32 rockets. This system is also highly mobile, and it is operated by five soldiers. The combat complement of this rocket launcher is 64 projectiles. The Orkan self-propelled multibarrel rocket launcher has for years been a kind of Serbian secret. Many artillerymen who are Croats and those other nationalities know very little about it. It is known only that it has four launching tubes, but it is assumed that it was developed by improving the Luna M 9K-52 rocket system. Knowledge about the location of the Orkan system is very scanty, although it is assumed that it has been moved from Kovin near Pancevo, via Nis and Kumanovo, to Pristina. The Luna M 9K-52 544-mm rocket system has a range between 15 and 67 km. The experts judge that that system would be used in attacks on Vukovar, and that it is now being used in attacks on Osijek as well. It is assumed that the rocket systems deployed two months ago in Glina were Luna M, and on the basis of the rocket's range, even Zagreb would be sitting right in front of it. Nevertheless, the experts say that there is no reason to exaggerate the power of these rockets, especially in view of the combat effects and the number the aggressor possesses. Although laymen might say: "They are saving them for reprisal!"

The Yugoarmy also possesses the M-71 128-mm light rocket launcher (LRL) with one tube and a high-explosive projectile. It also possesses the M-73 LRL, which weighs only 22 kg and is operated by just one soldier. The range of its projectiles is 8,545 meters, and the combat complement consists of 20 projectiles. So, although the Yugoarmy does have in its possession respectable artillery rocket systems, it needs to be mentioned that these systems are not exactly the latest thing in this type of armament. They are therefore destructible, but to do that the adversary facing them must have equipment which unfortunately Croatia still does not have in its entirety because of the embargo. By contrast with the Yugoarmy, whose unexploded projectiles on battlefields in Croatia show that the embargo is not hurting it. Freshly painted and newly manufactured projectiles have been found from the former USSR and even from China.

Federal Foreign Exchange Reserves 'Indivisible'

LD2101073692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's 2.4-billion-dollar foreign exchange reserves, manipulated by the Yugoslav National Bank, are deposited at internationally renowned banks and are indivisible, regardless of the fact that the secessionist Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia have been recognized as independent states, as the Yugoslav Government Information Secretariat announced today.

Yugoslavia's foreign exchange reserves are deposited in foreign currency notes, gold and prime papers issued and guaranteed by the governments of the world's most developed countries, as set out in the announcement.

Authorized banks in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia hold around 550 million dollars of the country's foreign exchange reserves, the announcement said.

TANJUG Journalists Respond to Criticism

LD1901161792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1339 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—A demand by the "Independent Journalists of Kosovo" to the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists to propose that TANJUG's foreign correspondents be deprived of their credentials and the agency of its "legitimacy," accounts for a call to persecution and lynch of TANJUG's journalists—the Independent Trade Union of TANJUG's Journalists assessed today.

The Independent Trade Union of TANJUG's journalists, which is, through the Belgrade-based Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Journalists, a member of the International Federation of Journalists, has rejected in its announcement all malicious and non-argumented assertions by journalists from the Province of Kosovo-Metohija which have recently been monitored by the Albanian-language daily BUJKU and by Croatian radio.

In its announcement, this vocational organization of TANJUG's journalists says next that TANJUG and its journalists have not been and will not be "accomplices in crimes" as it has been asserted for obvious daily-political reasons by the "Independent Journalists of Kosovo".

The announcement adds that TANJUG, like every news-publishing house, is neither perfect nor immune to omissions or faults, but in no way can "war mongering" be attributed to the agency and its journalists, as is one of the main "arguments" of those who call for reprisals against TANJUG's journalists.

The announcement says next that "despite great challenges, the Independent Trade Union of TANJUG's Journalists will further persevere along the agency's professional course.

"As for legitimacy, TANJUG has not received it as a present and hence cannot be deprived of it.

"Because of the unfounded and not at all argumented charges to the account of TANJUG and its journalists, the Independent Trade Union of TANJUG's Journalists will request adequate protection from the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists."

Slovenia

Kucan, Italy's Cossiga Sign Diplomatic Protocol

LD1701230692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2200 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Italian President Francesco Cossiga today paid his first state visit to Ljubljana. The Italian president was received with all honors dictated by protocol by Slovenian President Milan Kucan. As customary, both presidents inspected a guard of honor of the Slovenian Army. A police orchestra played the Italian and Slovenian national anthems.

A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Italy and Slovenia was then signed in the presence of the Italian President.

After a short friendly conversation, presidents Cossiga and Kucan made brief statements for Italian and Slovenian journalists and answered questions. Italian President Cossiga expressed his admiration for the Slovenian and Croatian efforts to achieve independence and democracy, with which these two countries also earned international recognition.

Apart from the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, the Italian ambassador to Belgrade also conveyed the stand that Italy no longer recognizes any jurisdiction of the former Yugoslavia on the territory of Slovenia and Croatia.

President Cossiga tonight met the Metropolitan Bishop Dr. Alojzij Sustar. Later, President Milan Kucan will give a festive dinner at which both statesmen will exchange toasts.

Rupel Says Ties With Croatia 'Difficult'

LD2001181392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Ljubljana, January 20 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said today that relations with Croatia are "complicated and difficult."

The European Community (E.C.) recognized the secessionist Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia on January 15. The resolving of all controversial questions is becoming complicated, said Rupel in talks with representatives of local authorities in Slovenia.

A several-months-lasting dispute over 600 million dollars held by Croatian savers at their savings deposits at the Zagreb branch of the former Ljubljanska Bank has still not been resolved. Apart from this, Croatia does not wish to sign a trade agreement proposed by Slovenia.

Croatia has also refused to discuss the question of the border with Slovenia in "two packages." Slovenia is demanding that the land borders which it does not consider controversial, be resolved first. According to Slovenia, the next phase would involve the coming to an agreement over the border on the Adriatic Sea. The issue pertains to a section of the border in the Gulf of Trieste, which in the event that it remains as it currently is, bars Slovenia from reaching the the open sea.

Representatives of local authorities assessed at today's meeting that Slovenia's economic interests are complimentary with those of Serbia, while rival to Croatian interests. They believe that Slovenia will find it very difficult in finding a common language with its first neighbour.

Kucan: Recognition Does Not Solve Our Problems

LD1801172692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Madrid, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—President of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan has stated that now, when the situation has changed, the Slovenes can no longer pin the blame for their failures on Belgrade, the war and the past.

The statement appeared in the Spanish daily EL PAIS today, after Slovenia had been recognized by some 30 countries. Commenting on the fact that the recognition has not been received with euphoria in Slovenia, Kucan said that "most of the Slovenes know that the recognition per se does not solve any of our problems." Slovenia now needs between one and two billion German marks in fresh money, he added.

Asked about the division of joint assets and liabilities of Yugoslavia, Kucan said that it should cover foreign currency, the property of the Army and the property of the Federation both in Belgrade and abroad. He said nothing about dividing the Yugoslav foreign debt.

Announcing his intention to run in the presidential election again, Kucan said the process of political polarization was still underway in Slovenia and that classical pluralism—composed of the left, the right and the centre had not emerged yet. "The situation resembles that of before World War Two. When we had only the clerical and the lay blocks," he said in conclusion.

Croatia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Italy

LD1701203892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and Italy today formally established diplomatic relations. The joint statement on the establishing of diplomatic relations was signed at a ceremony in Zagreb today by Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Claudio Vitalone and Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Bozidar Gagro.

The signing ceremony was also attended by Italian President Francesco Cossiga, who later said that the Italian Government was striving for Croatia to [become]

a full member of the European and international communities of sovereign states.

Cossiga expressed hope that the ceasefire, which has been enabled by the efforts invested by the European Community and the United Nations as well, will grow into lasting peace so that the peoples could determine their own future in freedom.

Hungary's Leaders Write Tudjman on Recognition

LD2001192692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today received the former Hungarian consul-general to Zagreb, Gabor Bagi, who handed him letters from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, officially confirming the recognition of Croatia's independence and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Congratulating the Croatian leadership and people on international recognition of the Republic of Croatia, the Hungarian president and prime minister expressed their wish to improve comprehensive relations between Hungary and Croatia. Ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries will exchange notes regarding this issue; the appointment and exchange of ambassadors is expected to take place in the coming days.

Tudjman Hosts Diplomatic Reception; Seeks Help

LD2001172892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, hosted a New Year reception in Villa Zagorje today for the heads of diplomatic and consular representative offices accredited in the Republic of Croatia. The doyen of consular officials in the Republic of Croatia, Consul-general of the Republic of Italy Salvatore Celento, presented greetings on behalf of consular officials to the president of the republic and leaders of the Republic of Croatia. May the resolution of all problems begin with the international recognition of Croatia, and may the peace be a lasting one, Consul Celento said, addressing President Tudjman.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman expressed thanks for the greeting on his own behalf and on behalf of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia and stressed the significance of the new changed circumstances with the international recognition of Croatia, when a new page in the history of Croatia and in the republic's international relations with the world is being turned. President Tudjman thanked the heads of diplomatic and consular representative offices for their support for Croatia and for setting out to their governments and the public the truth about Croatia and the imposed agressive war against the republic.

After the acceptance of the general EC and UN conditions concerning the cease-fire and the necessity of a political solution, it is obvious that, over the last few days, fresh casualties have occurred with the destruction of the EC mission's helicopter, something that clearly demonstrates the barbaric methods used by the aggressors of the Yugo-communist army and Serbian imperialists. This army and the aggressors have also not stopped at provoking fresh casualties over the past few days, from Karlovac to Lika and in other areas, in an attempt to provoke a war and prevent a peaceful solution, President Tudjman said.

He went on: In these circumstances, we still need your help, and that of your countries and the international community, so that, with the assistance of the political bodies of Europe and the international community and UN peace-keeping forces, we may see the end of the war as soon as possible, and devote ourselves to the renewal of ruined Croatia.

He said: I believe that you especially are witnessing, in the best way, how Croatia, after the establishment of democratic authority, has done everything to become a country of democratic freedom and a constituent part of the free world as soon as possible. We are also counting on your help in the renewal of destroyed Croatia, because the destruction is so great that the Croatian nation will have difficulty taking on the whole of the burden of renewal alone. President Tudjman said. He stressed that, as soon as the war is over and when the occupying army has left the territory of Croatia, the republic will switch not only to the material renewal of the country but also to the intellectual develoment of democracy, because it wants to be a country of the democratic world with a free market and to be included in the integrational processes of Europe and the world.

Dr. Tudjman recalled the decision of the Croatian leadership to the effect that, after the establishment of peace and the departure of occupying units from Croatia, elections will be held in accordance with the new electoral law to produce a working assembly and, in this sense, a supreme political body in keeping with Croatian democratic orientations.

Also at the reception were representatives of the [Croatian] Assembly and government, and Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Office of the President of the republic, with advisers in the office.

Separovic: Existing Borders 'Sacred', 'Inviolable'

LD1801210992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Answering questions at today's news conference in Zagreb, together with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Zvonimir Separovic explicitly stated that Croatia has no reason to raise the question of borders with any republic of the former Yugoslavia. He added that there are even "some misunderstandings" about his interview to the French paper "LE MONDE".

"It is our absolute principle that the borders of Croatia are in their existing conditions sacred and inviolable. Should it at all come to changes, then—as we plan to do with Slovenia—in some cases it will be a matter of a road, a brook, a meadow, communication between one village and another, which will be adapted to the circumstances if necessary, if the people want it, but there is no question at all about the borders. As far as Croatia is concerned, the problem of borders exists only in the sense that some people tried to dispute our borders. As it is, we want guarantees for the existing borders," Zvonimir Separovic explained.

Government Appoints Commissioners for Serb Areas

LD1801140192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Croatia has decided to take special measures in the municipalities of Dvor, Knin, and Slunj. According to these decisions, published in the latest issue of THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE, the municipal assemblies of these towns are dissolved while their deputies' mandate is terminated. At the same time, the executive councils of the Dvor, Knin, and Slunj municipalities have also been relieved of their duties.

At the same time, the Croatian Government has appointed commissioners who, it says, are taking over all the authority, obligations, and responsibilities of the municipal assemblies. Antun Vukorep has been appointed Croatian Government commissioner for the municipality of Dvor; Petar Pasic for the municipality of Knin; and Stipe Poljak for the municipality of Slunj.

According to the Croatian Government's decisions, which were, according to THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE, made on 4 January, the administrative and other state organs in these municipalities are to continue their work under the direct supervision of the government's commissioners and their aides.

On the basis of Croatia's law on government, such decisions were made earlier for a number of other municipalities, while conditions for implementing these decisions, as cited, "are secured, if need be, by the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia."

Supreme Council Discusses Election Preparations

LD2001133192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] The State Supreme Council last night discussed preparations for electing the Republic's president and Croatian Assembly deputies. Appropriate Assembly and government bodies will prepare draft laws on the above as soon as possible. The draft will then be thrown open to public discussion. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman chaired the session, attended by representatives of all the top republican bodies. The official statement on the session says that, in light of the constitutional provisions concerning the new elections, the discussion was on the principled concepts of appropriate electoral laws and on the law on the municipalities [zupanija] in the Republic of Croatia. As for electing the Republic's president, the State Supreme Council believes that the candidacy should not be too restricted to ensure that our society's genuine democratic interests are expressed and that the interests of both party and independent candidates are satisfied.

Krajina To Accept UN Plan Only If JNA Stays

LD1901224692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—Lazar Macura, the information minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, today reiterated his government's position that U.N. peace-keeping troops could be deployed only if the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) remained there.

A plan of special U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance envisages that "blue helmets" be deployed in Krajina and that its territory be demilitarized. Krajina originally insisted that U.N. peace-keeping troops be deployed only along the line separating the warring sides. Macura said that the Krajina government remained firm in its position because the European Community and some other countries had recognized Croatia which, as he put it, "can cancel the U.N. mission at any moment".

In the presence of representatives of the U.N. liaison officers' team and the command of the JNA's Knin corps, Macura said today that "It is not normal that one side should be disarmed and the other should not". Vance's plan envisages withdrawal of the JNA from Krajina and disarmament of the republic's Territorial Defence, but not of the paramilitary formations of secessionist Croatia.

Speaking about the position of European observers after the arrival of U.N. liaison officers, Knin Corps Commander General Ratko Mladic said that "the need for contacts with the E.C. mission no longer exists".

From January 9 to 18, the Croatian side violated the ceasefire on 59 occasions, said General Mladic and added that the Knin Corps responded only on two occasions when the lives and property of its members were threatened.

Krajina's Court President: UN Agreement 'Invalid'

LD2001153792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 20 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serb Krajina sees the agreement on the arrival of blue helmets to its territory as invalid because it legalizes aggression, the Belgrade daily BORBA on Monday quotes a statement by Uros Funduk, president of the republic's Supreme Court. After voting in a referendum

to stay in Yugoslavia, Krajina's Serb population proclaimed the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Funduk says that the agreement on sending peacekeeping troops is contrary to all procedures implemented so far by the United Nations in cases of conflicts between two peoples. He explains this with the usual UN practice to deploy its troops between the warring sides. In this case, however, blue helmets are being sent to the territory of one of the sides involved in the conflict, with a demand that it also be disarmed, which is contrary to all UN actions so far, says Funduk. Besides, the Krajina Serbs, as a party in the conflict, have never been consulted whether they agree, and under what conditions, with the arrival of blue helmets, says Funduk.

Finally, the agreement was not signed by representatives of Krajina, as one of the parties involved, but those of the Republic of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army, which are not at war with Croatia, BORBA quotes Funduk as saying.

Babic Denies Meeting Milosevic; Views Relations

LD1801232992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—In his statement to Finnish television, as reported this evening by Studio B, a Belgrade-based independent television station, Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, denied having had a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Explaining, Babic said that the latter has "frozen his relations with us" because he thinks that "we have a duty to carry out resolutions that he adopts and imposes".

Babic added that he did not seek contacts with Milosevic and that he expects Milosevic "to apologize for the way he treated me as a Serb and as president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. It is up to him to respond first".

Babic also said that he expects Milosevic to modify his policy, which "as far as the Serbian issue as a whole is concerned, has been unsuccessful".

According to Babic, Milosevic insists on preserving Yugoslavia but "fails to show due respect for...the desire of the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina to remain in Yugoslavia". He also voiced his suspicion that the Serbian president has "entered into some agreements that are not in our favor". Babic stressed that Milosevic has appropriated the right to make decisions on behalf of the Serbs from Krajina and to sign agreements to their detriment. "We therefore must state clearly that he has no such right", Babic specified.

Babic said that there are no disagreements in the Government of Krajina, and while answering the question on the support for Milosevic in Krajina, he said that it was negligible.

He repeated that the United Nations forces could be placed between the aggressor's forces of the Republic of Croatia and the defense forces of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, that is in the area of the armed clashes. The people of Krajina cannot accept the accusation of being guilty for the conflict and of being disarmed, while at the same time the one who has provoked the conflict—Croatia and its armed forces—remains armed, Babic emphasized.

In his opinion, the army in Krajina will not agree to be disarmed if the armed forces in Croatia are not disarmed as well. He would, he said, accept the withdrawal of the Army from Krajina when a political agreement has been reached on the status and mutual relations of the Yugoslav republics, or states, which would be created on Yugoslav territory.

"The departure of the Yugoslav Army from the territory of Serbian Krajina now could mean that Krajina would cease to be part of the state of Yugoslavia, and I cannot agree with this. We would agree if at least a token of the Yugoslav Army remained, which would represent the state of Yugoslavia until the crisis has been resolved," Babic concluded.

Babic: UN Plan Will Fail 'Without Our Consent'

LD2001132992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The UN mission is condemned to failure without our consent, says Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, in an interview published in today's edition of BORBA. It is certain that the UN Security Council, and above all the secretary general, will not set a precedent by sending in peace forces to our territory and disarming the armed forces of the Republic of Serbian Krajina without obtaining our consent, Babic says.

We find the concept of involving UN peace forces unacceptable, according to which the territory of Krajina and Eastern and Western Slavonia are to be under UN protection as Croatian areas. The way Tudjman, Kadijevic, and Milosevic arrived at an agreement amounts to imposing a certain political solution that resembles, or is identical to, The Hague conference's proposal about our special status within Croatia, Babic added.

Commenting on the latest developments in relations between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Serbia, Babic pointed out the fact that there is dissatisfaction and disappointment among a large number of people who think that the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian people have been abandoned by Serbia and the Serbian people in Serbia. It seems to me that the Serbian people's sentiments in Serbia do not correspond with Slobodan Milosevic's letter, Babic said. There have been, and still are, ill thought out political estimates and weak moves on the part of Serbia as regards the manner and timetable of achieving our shared goal, but I would not regard this as betrayal, the leader of the Republic of Serbian Krajina stresses.

It is Babic's impression that, as far as the authorities in Serbia are concerned, the initiative for resolving the Serbian national question in Yugoslavia "has somewhat run out of steam, as it is no longer defined." I expect us all to meet again—representatives of the authorities and opposition of Serbia and Montenegro and representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Serbian Krajina—in order to agree on specific terms on the implementation of our shared interest in a continuation of the Serbian people's existence within one state, Babic says.

Commenting on the initiative for convening a Krajina parliament, whose work would include members of the Yugoslav Presidency and the leadership of Serbia, Babic said that this initiative had been launched by the SFRY Presidency members. I was personally told that it would be good if a parliament of the Republic of Serbian Krajina convened such a session, provided I changed my attitude toward the involvement of UN peace forces, that is, I accepted Cyrus Vance's concept, thus enabling the Presidency members to support me and explain my attitude, Babic said in his interview to BORBA.

Calls for Investigation

LD1901001492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2255 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Articles have recently appeared quite frequently in the leading newspapers of English speaking countries, some of which are close to the people in power in these countries, which in an arbitrary way and without valid arguments accuse the Republic of Serbian Krajina, its organs, and the Serbian population of crimes against the civilian population, Krajina President Milan Babic said in a statement this evening.

"In view of the fact that such articles cause enormous political damage to the just struggle of the Serbian people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, for their freedom, state, and political independence, I feel obliged to deny these tendentious accusations," the statement emphasizes.

Babic called on international organizations authorized to investigate crimes against civilian populations to send experts to establish facts and to "disclose the enormity of the lies reported by these newspapers."

"Their lies, designed to decieve their own and the world public, are doubled-sided; in addition to falsely accusing us of crimes, they fail to report crimes committed by Croatian neo-Nazis against the Serbian population. We have reliable evidence of the crimes committed by Croatian neo-Nazis that we intend to place at the disposal of crime investigation experts. The most brutal of these crimes were committed in Gospic, Vukovar, Laslovo, Vinkovci, and Zagreb", Babic says in conclusion.

Krajina Seeks 'Common State' of Serb Republics

LD2001164892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Glina, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—President of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Mile Paspalj announced today that a proposal would be made to constitute a common state composed of the Serbian republics in current Yugoslavia.

Paspalj told newsmen in the town of Glina, Banija, that he would soon address the presidents of the assemblies of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Republic of Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina for the purpose of constituting a common state's assembly.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina was proclaimed on last December 19 in the Serbian regions on the administrative territory of Croatia in reply to the Croatian authorities' decision to secede from Yugoslavia.

Serbian people in Yugoslavia, regarded by the Croatian authorities as a national minority, voted at last spring's referendum for staying in their parent state of Yugoslavia.

"An overwhelming majority of people in Krajina," said Paspalj, "would rather honorably die than be a national minority in a fascist state as Croatia."

In commenting on U.N. Special Envoy Cyrus Vance's plan, Paspalj said its biggest disadvantage was its provision about the pull-out of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) from the territory of Krajina.

"In a situation when Croatia is recognized as a sovereign state, the pull-out of the JNA presumes that it admitted that Krajina is no longer within Yugoslavia," emphasized Paspalj and added that the JNA's return to protect Serbs in case Croatian forces attacked Krajina would be interpreted internationally as aggression against an independent state.

Having stressed that Krajina could not accept the plan that "wants in a roundabout way to impose (on Krajina) Croatia's sovereignty," Paspalj said that the blue helmets might be deployed only along the demarcation line between the conflicting sides.

Asked why Krajina leaders do not give a firmer backing to President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, Paspalj answered that "Milosevic now is not working in a way desired by an overwhelming majority of the Krajina people."

The president of Serbia has recently addressed public criticism at the President of the Serbian Krajina, Milan Babic, because he had turned down Vance's peace plan, accusing him of having in this way committed himself to continued warfare instead of peace and an end to bloodshed.

Army Colonel Swears To Defend Against 'Ustashas'

LD1801170592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Petrinja, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—"It is out of the question for the Army to leave the people of Banija, Kordun, Lika, and Krajina at the mercy of Ustashas," the commander of units stationed in this part of Banija, Colonel Slobodan Tarbuk, stressed to today's session of the war cabinet of Petrinja municipality.

In a discussion about the current political and security situation in the Petrinja municipality and Banija, Col. Tarbuk said that all Army members would resolutely defend Krajina and Yugoslavia.

"We are proud of the efficient liberation and defense of Banija. We will do the same in the future, unless the spirit of defeat and discord prevails among defenders and the Serbian people," Col. Tarbuk said and added "... it is still our main task to hold vigilantly and firmly the frontline against Ustashas, who have failed to launch a successful raid or counterattack and who were totally defeated while the Territorial Defense and the Army suffered only minimal losses." [passage omitted]

Slavonia Will Recognize Croatian 'Ethnic Borders'

LD1901161192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1248 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem will recognize Croatia but only within its ethnic borders, i.e., borders which do not include the Serbian Krajinas, as head of the region's government Goran Hadzic has stated.

The Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem is within the administrative borders of Croatia. In a statement today published by the daily POBJEDA of Titograd, capital of the Republic of Montenegro, Hadzic said that the Serbs in Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem would not remain in the Croatian independent state "even if that costs them their lives."

The authorities of secessionist Croatia proclaimed the Serbian people in Croatia a national minority when they came to power following the 1990 multi-party elections. Under the Federal Constitution, the Serbs constitute one of the six constituent Yugoslav peoples and cannot be treated as a national minority in any Republic. The Serbs living in areas which are now within the administrative borders of Croatia were not treated as a national minority even by the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Baranja Commander Sees No Cease-Fire, Progress

LD1801122192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Beli Manastir, 18 Jan (TANJUG)— Major Borivoj Dobrokes, the commander of the Baranja Territorial Defense, told TANJUG today that "There is no cease-fire in Baranja, and I do not believe that that there will be one for a long while".

"Furthermore, I even doubt that the blue helmets will be able to do anything more and secure a lasting peace. If ever peacekeeping forces were to leave an area without fulfilling their task, this is going to be that area", Dobrokes asserted.

Dobrokes firmly claimed that the members of the Baranja Territorial Defense no longer want nor intend to make contact with the EC mission. He explained his stand by the fact that the 12 EC countries recognized the independence of Croatia, where the Serbian people, he said, will never again live.

The commander of the Baranja Territorial Defense headquarters has said, however, that he is ready to accept cooperation with the UN "peacekeepers", but he is resolute in his stand that the "blue helmets" have to deploy exclusively and only along the line of conflict between the two sides.

Cease-Fire Violations Reported, Protests Lodged

Croatian Forces Shell Beli Manastir

LD1701172292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Beli Manastir, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—Today at around 0900 (0800 GMT), Croatian armed formations attacked Beli Manastir with artillery from the direction of Valpovo. Borivoj Zivanovic, president of the Beli Manastir Assembly Municipalities Executive Council said that about 10 shells fell on the town's surroundings. There were no casualties but material damage has been caused.

Provocations by Croatian paramilitary units are occurring every day, Zivanovic claims. Apart from today's artillery attack, yesterday they also opened fire twice on the Beli Manastir area from the direction of Valpovo and Bilje, and the Territorial Defense returned fire.

All this has confirmed that the Croatian side does not want peace, which the UN liaison officers will be able to verify, Zivanovic stressed.

'Serious' Violation in Nova Gradiska

LD1701211992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The Serbian aggressor has made a serious breach of the cease-fire this evening on the Nova

Gradiska battlefield. It opened strong artillery fire on our army positions in Masic, from the direction of (?Medari) and Trnava. According to the command of the Nova Gradiska operational group, at least 120 grenades were fired on the central part of the western Nova Gradiska front and the first Nova Gradiska defense line between 1600 and 1800 (1500-1700 GMT).

A forest north of Masic is burning, and so it is assumed that the enemy was using napalm bombs. Our army is not returning fire, thus observing the Sarajevo agreement on unconditional cease-fire. The EC observers currently in Nova Gradiska have been informed about the latest cease-fire violation by the enemy army. [passage omitted]

'No Peace' in Baranja

AU1701160292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Members of the Croatian paramilitary have violated the truce on four occasions in Baranja. Nobody was wounded among the defenders of Baranja, and the damage caused was insignificant. Here is a report by Vukan Stojanovic:

[Stojanovic] There is no peace in the Baranja battlefield, and there is going to be none as long as Ustasha fighters and their terrorists continue to carry out treacherous and cowardly provocations, attacks, and incursions into free Baranja.

A group of terrorists supported by mortar fire was sent from the western bank of the Drava, from the direction of the village of Nard, a well-known Ustasha stronghold. Eighteen mortar bombs were fired at the defense line of the Baranja territorials within only a few hours. The same thing happened at 2215 last night, as well as at 0630 this morning. This was again done from the direction of Nard and (?Bistrinci). Baranja territorials responded strongly and energetically to all these provocations and silenced the fire from the Ustasha positions and dispersed the terrorists by making them run away in panic. Nobody was injured among the territorials, and the material damage caused was insignificant.

'Provocations' Intensify in W. Slavonia

AU1801163292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Although the truce is still in force in western Slavonia, weapons are heard with increasing frequency. Branislav Bozic reports:

[Begin Bozic recording] As we are reporting, a group of officers from the EC observers mission is meeting Lieutenant General Vladimir Vukovic, commander of the Banja Luka Corps. Although a statement has not been issued yet, we have learned that they mainly discussed how the truce is being observed. The Command of the Banja Luka Corps has prepared a fairly long report on provocations by Croatian formations during the last few days.

One cannot say that today was quiet either. Provocations by Croatian formations west of Nova Gradiska began early this morning. The units of the Yugoslav People's Army were forced today to return fire in some parts of the western Slavonian battlefield, as the Croatian fighters are continuously changing their positions, exploiting the truce, and, according to the latest reports, coming within 150 meters of the first line of defense.

Under these conditions it will be very difficult to preserve the cease-fire, which, in addition to the EC observers, is now also being monitored by a group of UN liaison officers. The UN officers spent the night in Banja Luka. This morning they left for Knin, Bileca, Bihac, Sid, and Dalj. One group stayed with the Command of the Banja Luka Corps. [end recording]

JNA Attacked Near Vinkovci

AU1801160292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] After a day-long lull, the Croatian paramilitary again opened fire, thus violating the 15th truce for the umpteenth time. Shortly after midnight, mortar fire was directed at the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense near the village of Ceric, 8 km from Vinkovci, from the direction of Nustar. A brief lull came into effect after the intervention through the so-called hot line, but the attack was repeated one hour later. The Army was forced to respond with strong fire.

When it was thought that the final lull was established, another stronger armed provocation took place. This attack was followed by an even more energetic response. This time, the lull lasted until dawn, when Ustasha fighters opened fire again. The Army artillery and mortars finally silenced them an hour later.

This was an ideal opportunity for the UN liaison officers who were in this area to see, at the beginning of their monitoring mission, who is responsible for armed clashes in this area. The Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense did not suffer any casualties. Material damage is of lesser proportions.

Croatian Reinforcements Reported

LD1901122492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Banja Luka, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—Croatian paramilitary formations on the Western Slavonian front have been receiving reinforcements, as the information service of the Banja Luka Yugoslav People's Army Corps (JNA) has announced.

The same source said that a larger number of tanks have arrived in the Croatian-held village of Poljane. The fact that the tanks are not being dug in is taken by the Banja Luka JNA Corps Command to mean that they will not at all remain in the village.

The Banja Luka JNA Corps Command assesses that the situation on the Western Slavonian front has grown somewhat tense despite the 15th ceasefire and the arrival of U.N. liaison officers.

JNA Protests Attacks

LD1901131492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1217 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Banja Luka, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—The Banja Luka Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Corps this morning lodged a sharp protest with E.C. monitors against the stepped-up violations of the 15th ceasefire on the Western Slavonian front by the Croatian side.

At the first working meeting of JNA representatives, (?U.N. liaison) officers and E.C. monitors in Banja Luka, JNA representative, Col. Ratko Lepic warned that Croatian para-military formations violated the ceasefire for the 71st time on the Western Slavonian front past night the ceasefire agreement took effect 16 days ago. [sentence as received]

Col. Lepic said that Croatian forces last night fired 30 mortar shells on a village near Nova Gradiska, and three shells not far [words indistinct] the JNA representative said that the Croatian forces had stepped-up pressure on the Western Slavonian front since January 15, when the European Community recognized Croatia as an independent state. Col. Lepic asked the E.C. monitors to warn the Croatian side that the Federal Army's patience was not endless.

Maj. Andelis Boonakis of Greece said that the E.C. monitor mission would (?check) the allegations and take measures to preserve the ceasefire.

Croatian Army Protests JNA Violations

LD2001231192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The General Staff of the Croatian Army has sent a protest to the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, because the occupying army in Croatia is violating the cease-fire to which it was bound by the Sarajevo agreement. The protest lists today's attacks by the Army and Serbian terrorists that have joined it.

Thus, this evening a farm in Gubac near Vinkovci was set on fire by a Malyutka rocket while, during the day, tanks fired at Nustar and Vinkovci from Ceric. A funeral procession also came under heavy machine gun fire in Posedarje near Zadar; aircraft on several occasions flew into Croatian airspace; fire was opened from infantry weapons in the direction of Medjuraca near Sisak; and shots were also fired from (Drljaca) at Sunja.

Apart from this, citizens of the Republic of Croatia staying at the Hotel Croatia in Cavtat have received an ultimatum from the alleged military authorities to leave the hotel by 23 January, regardless of whether they have other accommodations.

By such actions, and by terrorizing and mistreating the civilian population of the Republic of Croatia, the Yugoslav Army and forces under its control are persistently violating the cease-fire and the agreement signed in Sarajevo, resulting in the sharp protest by the General Staff of the Croatian Army. It is expected that representatives of the EC and the United Nations will try to get the Yugoslav Army to stop these actions.

Explosions in Karlovac Investigated

LD2001095592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A number of powerful explosions were reported in the Karlovac region and the town itself. The investigation into what had actually happened is still being carried out. The night passed peacefully in the Djakovo region as opposed to the last few days when a number of cease-fire violations were reported. [passage omitted]

Although the night passed relatively peacefully in the Osijek area, a number of incidents were reported yesterday. [passage omitted] Multiple rocket fire was reported coming from enemy strongholds and hitting Osijek's residential suburb of (Brez) in the early evening hours yesterday.

A number of enemy provocations were reported in the Zadar area. [passage omitted] A number of enemy helicopters were spotted flying over the Zadar region yesterday, and columns of enemy tanks were reported to be heading towards the Yugoslav Air Force base in Zemunik. No incidents have been reported in the Dubrovnik region. [passage omitted]

Kordun Attack From Bosnia Alleged

AU2001171292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Sinisa Stamatovic report]

[Text] According to the report issued by the authoritative military commands today, the forces of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Kordun fighters are strictly adhering to the provisions of the cease-fire agreement reached in Sarajevo. The same could be said for the Croatian paramilitary on the part of the front along the Kupa and Korana Rivers. This is probably the result of the commissions that have been set up by the warring sides. The commissions are meeting almost every day to deal with disputed issues.

However, the truce is not being observed at all on the part of the battlefield bordering neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to the information this reporter

obtained today, since the liberation of this part of Kordun, 15 Kordun fighters have been killed through terrorist actions by Croatian fighters, who are crossing from the Cazin Krajina to Serbian Krajina under the cover of darkness.

Even more tragic is the fact that since 3 January of this year, since the signing of the Sarajevo agreement, five fighters have been killed and four wounded by Ustasha forces in this area. The last victim, Milic Zdelar from Kestenovac, fell near Podcetin last night, shortly after 1700. In this way, all the promises by the representatives of the communal authorities in Bosnia- Hercegovina, that they will tame the Ustashas that fled to Bosnia-Hercegovina after their military defeats in Slunj and Cetingrad, were watered down. Just because of this, it is difficult to predict how future events are going to turn up on this part of the Kordun battlefield.

Republic 'Mostly Quiet' 20 Jan

LD2001230292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2151 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Banja Luka, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The United Nations liaison officers stationed in Banja Luka, a town in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today toured the positions of the Yugoslav Army near Lipik, western Slavonia, and, on the frontline, talked with officers and troops of the Banja Luka Corps about the situation on that part of the front.

As has been learned from reliable sources, UN officers—Major Ferrer of Venezuela , Major Lundevall of Sweden and Captain Routh of Finland—today talked with the commander of the Yugoslav Army Banja Luka Corps, Lieutenant General Vladimir Vukovic.

As has been learned, Lieut-Gen. Vukovic informed the guests of the situation on the western Slavonian front and the way of resolving incidents, which have recently flared more frequently in this part of Croatia, where Serbs, who make up the majority of population, proclaimed the Serbian autonomous region and protected themselves from Croatia's secession.

UN officers are to tour all units of the Banja Luka Corps on the western Slavonian front over the next few days, as has been learned from well-informed sources. It was mostly quiet on the western Slavonian front, as learned from well-informed sources.

Croatian radio, which is subjected to the Croatian president's censorship decree, today claimed that the Army was "still violating the ceasefire" in western Slavonia. Croatian radio, however, failed to specify when and where the ceasefire was violated. The government of the Serbian autonomous region of western Slavonia today called all jurists, who lived in the region of western Slavonia, to report in order to organize a civilian government in this region.

TANJUG's journalists report that it was mostly quiet in other parts of Croatia during the day.

As the commander of the Baranja and Osijek Territorial Defence, Borivoje Dobrokes, told TANJUG no incidents flared in that region. Dobrokes, however, accused the Croatian side of violating the 15th ceasefire agreement nearly every day since it came into force on January 3. There was a total of 16 armed provocations in the past 20 days since the ceasefire came into force, he added.

Three Baranja Territorial Defence troops were killed and seven wounded in this period, Dobrokes said.

Croatian radio also reports a lull in the area of Osijek, a town in eastern Slavonija. It accuses the Army and the Serbian Territorial Defence of violating the ceasefire over the past few days.

Daily Says Recognition Alters Conflict's Character

LD1701205192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK, which generally reflects the views of the Croatian authorities, writes today that the "international recognition of Croatia fundamentally alters the legal character" of the conflict in that secessionist Yugoslav republic, in which the Serbs are with the help of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) fighting to remain in Yugoslavia and to protect themselves from genocide.

The daily calls the presence of the JNA an "aggression of the former Yugoslav armada against a foreign state," and argues that "what is concerned is a war with all the effects which ensue from an attack on the territory of another state community."

VJESNIK by its assessments also negates the JNA's right to remain in those parts of the territory of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where Serb republics have been proclaimed and where the JNA is defending the majority Serb population from genocide. The U.N. peace plan calls for those areas to become demilitarized zones.

The Zagreo daily, however, says in its conclusion that January 15, the date the European Community recognized Croatia's independence, "is a point from which, as far as Croatia's interests are concerned, potential and real enemies begin to be added again, but also the enemies [as received]."

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has on several occasions issued threats that "every last square inch of Croatia's territory will be recovered, by force if not by other means." What Tudjman is referring to are the administrative borders of the Yugoslav republic, created in the communist period, which the Serbs do not accept in the case of the Croats' secession.

The Belgrade weekly NIN writes today that VJESNIK has over the past few days run prominent half-page

advertisments urging Croatians to "set out towards Vukovar," a town in Eastern Croatia liberated by JNA and Serbian territorial defence a month ago. The ad asks for volunteers to replenish a brigade to "recover Vukovar."

Poll Indicates Majority Against Law on 'Serbs'

92BA0310A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 91 pp 24-25

[Article summarizing survey conducted by the DANAS research team consisting of students of the School of Political Science at Zagreb University and coordinated by Andrijana Seso and Sanja Car..k: "A Majority Against the Law on the Minority"]

[Text] A convincing majority of those who participated in DANAS' public opinion survey, 87 percent, are of the opinion that adoption of the Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and on the Rights of National or Ethnic Minorities (Groups) in the Republic of Croatia will not contribute essentially to ending the war.

This law with its long name, to which reality has given a more practical name—the Law on the Serbs—is the basic topic of our empirical project. The survey was conducted with a written questionnaire on a selected quota sample that included 896 respondents in all five regions of Croatia. The survey of the public was conducted in Split, Zagreb, Rijeka, Pula, and Varazdin. Because certain areas were inaccessible to the researchers, the sample included 216 persons who come from the areas where the war is going on (eastern Croatia, Banija, southern Croatia). The characteristics of the sample (ethnic, age-specific, sex-specific, and educational representation of all groups of the population), even though the war has disrupted the demographic map, nevertheless correspond to the sociodemographic structure of Croatia. Croats represented 79 percent, Serbs 12 percent, and the other 9 percent members of minority ethnic groups or those declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs or ethnically uncommitted. The results of the public opinion survey obtained by this methodology offer a cross section of public opinion at the moment with an assumed error of plus or minus 4 percent.

The thesis advanced by a segment of the opposition on the eve of the debate in the Assembly, to the effect that the newly proposed legal provision on ethnic minorities put the Serbs in Croatia in a privileged position as compared to other ethnic minority groups, is supported by three-fourths of the respondents. The pronounced mistrust of the law's implementation, w.ich has been announced for the postwar period, results from several different factors. First of all, there is the "bitter experience" of the Hague dictate, a pill which the Croatian government had to swallow on behalf of international recognition of state sovereignty, which was so much desired and now seems to be in the offing. After all, the law which the government refers to as operationalization of the constitutional commitment is being adopted a year after the Constitution, which evokes the question of whether the formula of "special status" was not compelled by the whirlwind of war. What is more, the special status of 11 opcinas in Croatia where the Serbian population has a majority greater than 50 percent seems utterly utopian from today's wartime perspective, because the special status defined in that way contains strong elements of autonomy, but also presupposes a spirit of cooperation with Zagreb. Would you personally agree to proclamation of territorial autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia if this guaranteed an end of the war in Croatia? All of 90 percent of those polled answered this question in the negative, while 8 percent consented to territorial autonomy of the "Serbian areas" in Croatia.

Although the present armed confrontation in Croatia is not essentially an ethnic conflict, there are strong elements of ethnic confrontation, and the question of the position of the Serbs in Croatia still remains one of the keys to ending the drama of the war. Almost the entire public (94 percent) accepts the European principles for resolving interethnic relations. But that kind of unanimous assessment of adoption of democratic mechanisms for regulating relations between the majority and minority become questionable after an analysis of responses to the next question in our poll: Can those principles be applied in resolving the current Croat-Serb conflict? The divided opinions of the respondents, 47 percent in the affirmative and 53 percent answering in the negative, indicate all the tragedy of mistrust between the majority and the largest minority in Croatia.

The zero point of (dis)trust is seen in answers to the question of that politician in the ranks of Serbian political figures in Croatia who in the opinion of the respondents would most successfully represent the Serbian side at the negotiating table after the war. There still is no "new Pribicevic," for whom the Croatian political team has been searching unsuccessfully for two years now. This is the opinion of 36 percent of the respondents, selecting the response "There is no such politician at the moment."

The other participants in the poll, 29 percent of them, showed the greatest confidence in Zivko Juzbasic and Milan Djukic (15 percent). Then come Olga Carevic with 8 percent, Milan Babic with 4 percent, Milorad Pupovac with 3 percent, and Jovan Raskovic, now forgotten, with 1 percent.

Serbia

Serbian National Renewal Threatens Violence

LD2001203792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The rightest opposition party Serbian National Renewal (SNO) in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia threatened today that it "will have to resort to violence" if a state recognizes the sovereignty of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina within

their administrative borders "and in this way enable the occupation of the now liberated Serbian territories."

SNO President Mirko Jovic made it clear at a news conference today that "Croatian and Bosnian embassies in these countries (which recognize the two republics) will be blown up and the Serbian National Renewal will become the Serbian national defence."

Unexpectedly, this statement caused a reaction from the SNO Vice President Ilija Gligorijevic who accused Jovic of usurping powers by declaring, without previous authorization by SNO organs, that the SNO was a "terrorist organization."

The SNO has organized its armed detachments which, as volunteer formations, have been fighting side by side with the Serbian Territorial Defence units in the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are against the two republics' becoming independent and breaking away from Yugoslavia with the territories inhabited by Serbian population.

Draskovic Views Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia

PM2001083492 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Jan 92 p 4

[Florence Hartmann report: "Serbia Moving Toward 'Third Yugoslavia'"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The announcement of the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia by the whole European Community and by other countries has not really shocked official Serbian circles. Serbia had prepared for it, but it did not expect such a rapid recognition of Croatia by the Twelve. [passage omitted]

In a short statement to LE MONDE, Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, regretted that "Serbia does not exist." In his customary style, Mr. Draskovic said: "I have nothing against the existence of Slovenia and Croatia, but I deplore the fact that Serbia does not exist, simply because the current Serbian regime will not allow a corpse that bears the name of Yugoslavia to be buried, preferring to pretend that this corpse is called Serbia. Serbia is not dead, and I want it to be transformed as quickly as possible into an independent and sovereign state. I am in favor of the reappearance of the Montenegrin state, the recognition of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, so that, like the former USSR, we can settle all disputes in a civilized way, including—if this proves necessary—border issues, and so that we can agree on new forms of cooperation to create a community of southern Slavs, based on EC principles.

Commentary Views Consequences of EC Recognition

AU1901204092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Ljubodrag Stojadinovic commentary from the "Sunday at Ten" program]

[Text] It is not possible at present to predict all the military-political consequences of the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. The separatist rebellion has been legalized, and the Yugoslav People's Army has been made illegal through the executorial will of Germany in the role of the untouchable European leader. Whether Europe will finally succumb to German arrogance will depend on its historical memories and its dignity.

However, in the purely military sense, all the conditions have been created for the Balkans to become the center of war traumas in the years or decades to come, traumas whose direct causes are difficult to predict at present.

For Italy, Austria, Hungary, and, above all, Germany, the embargo on exports of arms to Yugoslavia is only an appeal of the Security Council without real meaning. The northern part of the former AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia is an open wound that is susceptible to the mammoth transfer of arms from the warehouses of the former East Germany.

The Bundeswehr is ridding itself of this burden with the public servility of Croatia, which is preparing for war without any complexes and disregarding the possible UN peace action. In the initial statements after the act of recognizing the state sovereignty of Croatia, official Bonn rejected any connection with the criminal act of state smuggling of deadly weapons to Croatia.

In our view, if the conflict flares up again, there will be no question of revealing the concrete help to Croatia. In this way, Germany will formally be involved in the Balkan tragedy. Its militarism is so obvious that even its diplomatic moves are inspired by potential brutality.

There are plenty of reasons for pessimism. The areas with maximum tensions are kept in strategic reserve for key clashes. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, whose authorities are masochistically putting up with several dozens of bombings of border towns in this republic, an explosion could be expected in the Neretva valley, where the most militant groups of the Croatian black army are deployed.

Sandzak and Kosovo will explode only if peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina is preserved despite everything. However, the masters of the Balkans' destiny have not perhaps anticipated the possibility of uncontrolled chaos, especially after euphoric separatist triumphalism and the feeling that the status of a minority is being prepared for all Serbs outside administrative borders.

The Croatian leadership has at least two formulas for returning the territories that are not under Zagreb's

control. The first, which at first glance appears to be more liberal, is linked to the arrival of the peacekeeping forces and their definite departure after about six months. During this period, the Croatian Army would become sufficiently mobile and technologically capable of a crucial offensive. According to the second, more extreme formula, the war would be continued immediately, and an offensive involving new friends would be prepared quickly, because it is thought that this would be the time for the West, to which Croatia belongs, to dictate conditions.

In our view, both formulas are a product of an extreme militarism, in which Nazi [word indistinct] before every rational reasoning. This is yet further proof that the regimes that have grown fascist seeds throughout their development are not able to accept arguments beyond their own military defeat. However, there is no time for such an undertaking because the rest of Yugoslavia, under conditions of the fundamental importance of the destroyed system, is forced to search for ways of coexistence with the state that can only exist when there are continuous war tensions.

The new Yugoslav state, if its formation is possible, will have to count on unstable borders toward the west, regardless of how they were created. In these conditions, the Yugoslav People's Army has opted for peace, which is the only rational stand under the present political circumstances, because it has achieved its war aims militarily, but it is not able to defend them only politically.

The formulation about setting up a state desired by the people contains a major shortcoming, because states are created and dismantled in the spheres of power and not according to a list of wishes. The power of the Yugoslav People's Army in the new conditions will primarily depend on the political mobilization of those state-creating forces that will be able to wisely exploit military achievements and the potential power of the army, instead of continuously ascribing to it their recent political mistakes.

In other words, the fact that the Army has opted for peace does not mean that it has admitted its weakness or that it has capitulated in front of other powers. We think that things are, in fact, the other way around. The Army does not want to conduct a war without an end and without meaning, nor does it want a dictated peace. The fact that Croatia is preparing for a war should only be its own business until it starts. If it really wants to wage a war at any cost, counting on its status as a German outpost, then this is will be a model of radical expansion that leads to a war without limit.

However, we believe that the feeling of power has not affected the Germans' memory, and that the national euphoria will continue to drive the Croats back to the original ideals of the independent State of Croatia. Optimism lies, however, only in hope, and fear of the truth with which we are spending this strange winter, between salvation and cataclysm.

Belgrade Radio Reports on 'Albanization' of Kosovo

AU1701171492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija has not been stopped. The number of those who have left this part of Serbia continues to exceed five times the number of those who have returned. Since 1981, some 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins left the region while 4,760 emigrants who returned were registered. In the same period, 8,000 Albanians moved to Kosovo.

A debate on this problem, held by the Serbian Socialist Party commission for monitoring of the program intended to stop the emigration, did not differ much from the debates held during the last 10 years. The majority of the participants in the discussion agreed that the main problem continues to be the fact that the Albanization of the south of Serbia was not stopped. It was pointed out that Serbia still does not have a serious strategy for resolving this problem. True enough, the data from some communes indicate that the number of emigres is diminishing, but in those villages there are hardly any Serbs left.

Among the emigrants who have returned, there is a prevalence of people who are using this status to get a job. The number of emigres who have returned for other than economic reasons is almost symbolic. Even for those who do return, it is hard to secure a job and accommodation. The main motives for emigration from Kosovo and Metohija continue to be of a political and security nature. In the first nine months of last year, 202 attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins were noted. The attackers were Albanians. In only three months, three such attacks ended in murder.

The security situation in Kosovo and Metohija is, of course, not the only condition for the return of emigres. It was stressed that without a massive migration of Serbian and Montenegrin people to the region it will be impossible to change the ethnic structure of the province. It was also emphasized that the Kosovo politicians who are telling people not to emigrate should demonstrate this by their own example.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegvic Comments on Referendum, Recognition

LD1701184392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—Speaking at his regular monthly press conference this afternoon, Alija

Izetbegovic president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency disclosed that the republican parliament will call a citizens' referendum on the republic's sovereignty at its regular 24 January session. This is the crucial precondition for the republic's international recognition by the EC.

We did not expect that Bosnia-Hercegovina would win international recognition as early as in the course of the first round, Izetbegovic said. This referendum, held by legal and legitimate state organs, will be carried out under international control. I am positive that the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be recognized by the international community, Izetbegovic said, since I am sure that most of our citizens will opt for sovereignty and independence.

I simply cannot comprehend the stand of the Serbian Democratic Party, Alija Izetbegovic said on being asked about resistance to Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence outside Yugoslavia. For, at one point this party favors autonomy, at another point it favors regions, on another occasion Serbian municipalities and yet again on some other occasion it favors "a state within a state." I have requested, and I would like, that the SDS eventually present in writing its concept of regulating relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, something we have not yet received Izetbegovic said.

The citizens' referendum can, if we so decide, technically ensure that the national allegiance citizen voter be revealed. Europe however demands a referendum of citizens. Europe will know how to qualify our attitude toward participation in, or boycotting, the referendum, Izetbegovic added.

Izetbegovic said that since the national parties came to power no one had lost or won a job, or exercised or failed to exercise some right, because he was a Serb, Croat or Muslim. In some top posts the agreement is being carried out on proportional representation of the nations, something that is a constitutional obligation, he added.

Alija Izetbegovic revealed that the republican constitution would soon be changed, so Bosnia-Hercegovina will be defined as a republic of its citizens as opposed to a republic of three specific nations which has been the case so far.

Izetbegovic regarded the talks between representatives of the local SDS and the Croatian Democratic Community and Franjo Tudjman dividing Bosnia as a nasty business. Croatia is now internationally recognized and if it tries to carry on along these lines it will face the consequences, Izetbegovic said.

France favors the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and this is why it has proposed that "blue helmets" be sent, Izetbegovic said when commenting on his talks with President Mitterrand. It opposes Bosnia-Hercegovina's partition. It agrees with Bosnia-Hercegovina's timetable of moves that recognition of the sovereignty of the republics be discussed in parallel with the talks on resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

There will be no civil war in Bosnia thanks to the wisdom of the people and their fear of war, perhaps rather thanks to the latter than to the former, Izetbegovic replied to a U.S. journalist's question.

Izetbegovic, JNA View Civilian-Military Issues

LD2001202392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jan (TANJUG)— A meeting was held today in Sarajevo between members of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and a group of commanders of the Second Army District, led respectively by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], and Col. Gen. Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Army District. The aim of the meeting, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Information Department announces, was mutual familiarization and talks on relations between the civilian and military authorities.

According to the statement, representatives of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] confirmed their standpoint that the army will not use force to impose political solutions. The so-called "demand" by the Banja Luka Corps to President Izetbegovic in connection with the referendum issue, was denied, the statement says. The JNA is not behind this demand, it was announced.

It was agreed that joint working groups of the JNA and the organs of authority in Bosnia-Hercegovina will work to resolve the problem of the blockade of communications, the return of refugees to their homes, and questions of special purpose industries.

Defense Ministry Condemns Forced Mobilization

AU1801200692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The Ministry for National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina issued a statement today. According to the statement, the ministry has been informed that the forced mobilization of a fairly large number of draftees is being carried out in the Bosanski Petrovac commune. Such actions have caused additional anxiety and disgust and forced some citizens to flee their homes and go into hiding.

The ministry's statement repeats the decisions of the Presidency and of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina that such a mobilization is illegal, that it is not binding for the citizens of this republic, and that no one has the right to mobilize citizens by force. This is stated in the statement signed by Minister Jerko Doko.

Interior Ministry Also Opposed

AU1801211292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Following frequent cases of some Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina employees handing out call-ups and taking in draftees in some communes at the request of the military authorities, which they are not authorized to do, the ministry has issued a statement in which it states the following:

In accordance with the decisions of the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to which the draftees are not obliged to respond to calls for illegal mobilization, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina dissociates itself from individual activities of some police stations that have been mobilizing citizens. Since the aforementioned activities do not fall within the jurisdiction of the ministry, adequate disciplinary measures will be taken against all ministry employees who have carried out these unauthorized actions, in accordance with the Law on Internal Affairs.

Sarajevo Command Responds

LD1901212592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo area army command issued a statement today refuting the republican National Defense Ministry's claims that the Army's recruitment campaign is illegal since it is not in accordance with decisions by Bosnia-Hercegovina's Government and Presidency.

"In light of the fact that the military service law says that only bodies of the army and territorial defense are qualified to discharge recruitment duties, we hereby call on all recruits who were born in or before 1973 to contact their municipal army departments to be sent to the Yugoslav People's Army," today's statement says. "Given that the National Defense Ministry communiques repeatedly refer to decisions of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Government and Presidency, we stress that the republican bodies are not qualified to adopt such decisions. Therefore, they have no legal power," the Sarajevo area army command's statement stresses.

Koljevic, JNA, North Bosnia Serbs Hold Talks

AU1901160492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] The leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the representatives of the Serbian Autonomous Region of North Bosnia held talks in Banja Vrucica near Teslic last night. The talks were also attended by Nikola Koljevic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army. Zivko Savkovic reports:

[Savkovic] The military or war option in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is out of the question. Peace and the preservation of peace are a permanent and long-term solution. This was stated by Dr. Nikola Koljevic. Explaining the sudden closeness with the Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian leaders, Koljevic said that it is better to negotiate indefinitely than lose even a single human life in the war.

Answering numerous questions on how the (?Yugoslav crisis) should be resolved, Koljevic mentioned three possibilities. According to him, the idea of confederalism is somewhat more topical at present, although much will become clearer (?next week). The impression is that the participants in the meeting learned many new things, but that they also left with more dilemmas than they came with.

The representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army said that their duty has been and still is to ensure peace. People and politicians should reach agreements, and the Yugoslav People's Army will respect them.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina was widely criticized. At the end of the meeting it was said that this ministry is doing many things against the Yugoslav People's Army and the Serbian people.

Shooting 'Unofficially' Reported in Trebinje

AU1801170592 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Although official reports do not mention any incidents, they are not lacking on the battlefields. Dragan Mihovic reports from Trebinje:

[Mihovic] The official report published today by the Second Operations Group in Trebinje states that both sides on this battlefield have observed the truce and did not open fire. However, as we unofficially learned yesterday afternoon, until 1800 the Croatian forces were shooting near the village of (?Stupa). An Army soldier, Djuro Bodiroga, was killed. The officers on the front line claim that Croatian units are continuously opening sniper and machine gun fire on the Army. This was stated by officer Stanko Papovic, whose unit is deployed near Neum. Officer Aleksandar Vujovic, who is stationed near the Hutovo Dam, claims the same. It is difficult to predict how the truce will be preserved and controlled if new incidents take place.

A delegation of the Women's Movement for Yugoslavia is currently visiting Trebinje. They came to visit the soldiers and the wounded in Trebinje Hospital.

HDZ Plans for 'Unification' With Croatia Viewed

92BA0349B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 91 p 7

[Article by Muharem Duric: "Bosnia-Hercegovina Behind 'Croatian Shield'; Croatian Democratic Community Prepares Opstinas in Bosnia for Unification With Croatia"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] The training of HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] units from Bugojno to Metkovic has been completed, the formation structures are known, and there are also lists for liquidation. More terrorist groups formed in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. Secret document on unification signed.

Sarajevo, 25 Dec—The top story after yesterday's talks between the army leadership and Bosnia-Hercegovinan leaders is the agreement to disband all paramilitary formations. For two entire summers, and now going into the second winter, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, speaking on behalf of the Serbian Democratic Party, has issued warnings about the existence of paramilitary units in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In recent days, disturbances have been created by terrorist campaigns, especially in Hercegovina. And finally, Mile Dedakovic the Hawk, upon leaving prison, talked about how major transports of arms cannot avoid Bosnian roads. He even specified that arms assistance intended for Vukovar has departed—for the Neretva valley....

Even though the existence of paramilitary formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been established beyond the shadow of a doubt, most of them are shrouded in secrecy. POLITIKA has learned some interesting details about a little-known phenomenon.

First, it has been reported "from the field" that the HDZ in B-H has set up its own "Croatian Falcon" organization, as well as two others, "Shield" and "Kordun." All are expressly militant, and will be used for operations "on the rear lines." Naturally, in Serbian lands, as the confidential report states.

It is also alleged that very close cooperation with Italian, Hungarian, German, and Belgian intelligence services has been proven.

Hercegovinan Connection

According to previous information that has also been confirmed, Italy and Hungary will assist Croatia directly, both materially and with arms. All emigre firms have joined in the procurement of special equipment for the Croatian storm troopers. Besides weapons, mention is made of various optical devices, and even squadrons of helicopters and light airplanes. It is alleged that the helicopters are equipped with rotating guns, light missiles, and all-electronic systems.

Judging from information that previously reached Sarajevo, a fair number of Croat officers in the Maritime and Fifth Army District have been "bought" and recruited, as have been Croat generals in Belgrade. Working for them and establishing all contacts is Zdravko Mustac (chief of security). Zdravko Mustac has connected the HDZ with Franjo Vodles, a retired official with the SDB [State Security Service], who brought from the outside, from South Africa, Radeto Covdovic, also known as "Cento," and Miroslav Malek, who was a member of the police in South Africa. The two of them were immediately hired by Perica Juric, the minister of the Croatian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Their basic task is to smuggle arms through the company "Malek-komerc," which is headquartered at the Esplanade Hotel in Zagreb.

Moreover, the information source specifies that Perica Juric is the nephew of Andrija Juric, who slaughtered 1,200 children in Jasenovac during the war. His brother Jurica gave 2 to 3 million German marks to the HDZ. Thus, he was appointed minister of the MUP. There is an omnipresent connection with Hercegovina—all the Jurics are from Livno.

Through Zeljko Marinac, a landowner in Zagreb, HDZ contacts were established with foreign consuls and Western intelligence services. Also mentioned is Ratko Djokic, who was expelled from Sweden because he was suspected of involvement in the murder of Palme. He was entrusted with organizing the Croatian underground to work for the HDZ.

Who all was involved in the purchase of weapons is also indicated by information on Stipe and Zoran Mazarela, the owners of entertainment parks in Zagreb and Ljubljana. They purchased arms for Zdravko Mamic, who owns bars in Zagreb. His duty was to arm HDZ forces in Hercegovina.

The types of teams created are indicated by the fact that one of the main leaders of the formed strike force "Croatian Falcon," Mladen Mustac, is a representative of "Elan" in Austria, and is related to Zdravko Mustac, the head of the Yugoslav SDB.

Something else was noticed that was confirmed later on—that all Croatian ambassadors in the field were working for Croatia and openly speaking out against Yugoslavia and about Serbia in the darkest terms.

The training of HDZ units—from Bugojno to Metkovic—has been completed. The formation structures are known, and there exist lists for liquidation. A secret document has been signed between all HDZ opstinas in Bosnia-Hercegovina on declaring unification with Croatia. It is reported that they are waiting for the right moment.

Allegedly, the Muslims will be backing them up.

Use of Muslims

In this way, judging from all indications, the Muslims want to be used in the way known from the last war, when Ustashi invaded Serb villages in disguise, with fezes on their heads and addressing each other as Haso, Mujo.... Survivors of the Ustasha attacks testified that they were also attacked by Muslims, so that bad blood was perfidiously created between Serbs and Muslims then as well. All the allegations from confidential reports from the field have also been confirmed.

Also mentioned in the reports are the leading figures in the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and HDZ, Alija Izetbegovic, Stjepan Kljuic, and Jure Pelivan. Their

statements at rallies are now being zealously confirmed in political practice, which is also indicated by the latest political crisis in the central republic. They have imposed their own invention—outvoting—as a fear over the inhabitants of places where there is a majority Serb population.

Open calls for war against the Serb population and threats coming from individual SDA and HDZ leaders bear witness to the fact that they are unconcerned not only about preserving the cultural essence of the Serbian nation, but also about coexistence with them in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Unfortunately, a good deal of that which is alleged in secret reports is already known and has already been seen both on the political scene and on the battlefield. Perhaps the tongue of analysts from the field is dry, but the essence is important.

Macedonia

Government Welcomes Bulgarian Recognition

LD2001181292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—In Skopje today, the Macedonian Government "welcomed the decision of the Republic of Bulgaria to recognize the independence of the Republic of Macedonia," according to a statement from the session. The statement goes on to add "this decision will contribute to the advancement of cooperation between two sovereign and independent countries."

The statement also says "the government of the Republic of Macedonia has charged the Ministry for Relations with Foreign Countries to undertake all necessary activities for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states." [passage omitted]

Kljusev Views Monetary Separation, JNA 'Issues'

LD1701184292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Skopje, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—Macedonia is "only temporarily" in the Yugoslav monetary system. Its monetary separation is already in an advanced phase, Dr. Nikola Kljusev, the leader of the Macedonian Government, said today at the year's first news conference of the republican government.

According to Kljusev, the Macedonian Government "has information" that the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina is, as he said, "working on" the issue of the separation of that republic from the monetary system of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

In connection with Macedonia's relations with the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], the Macedonian leader said that the government's stand is "to deal with the open issues without nervousness or haste." Kljusev also said that the government has decided to pay half of the army wages to every Macedonian officer or professional civilian employed in the JNA who leaves the service and makes himself available to the new Macedonian state.

The Macedonian leader also announced that Macedonia will take over all its staff now working in the Yugoslav diplomatic service who make themselves available to the government in Skopje, but, he specified, only "when the conditions for this are created."

JNA Expected To End Presence as 'Guest' 31 Jan

LD1601192592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Skopje, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—"At a time when the army's arsenal, and also soldiers, are being withdrawn from the republic, army leaders have stated that this is not true. Following the appointment of General Uzelac as commander of the Third Military District (covering Macedonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro) there is renewed speculation about the alleged strengthening of army positions in Macedonia. Judging by some recent events, it appears that the Yugoslav People's Army will nevertheless end its "period as a guest" in this area," today's edition of Skopje's daily VECER says.

Citing "some unconfirmed reports," the paper claims that the army will allegedly withdraw from Macedonia by the end of the month, and even mentions some specific dates. According to the same sources, the Skopje daily alleges that the army's military computer control center has already been transferred to Nis.

EC Political Differences 'Hampered' Independence

AU2001173792 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Boris Djordjioski report from the "Sunday at Ten" program]

[Text] Disappointment is evident in Skopje because the European Twelve have failed to recognize Macedonia even though the arbitration commission has given the green light for this act. The failure to recognize Macedonia is an expression of current political differences within the EC and special interests of individual countries which, as Republican President Kiro Gligorov put it, have unfortunately prevailed. In this case, justice and politics do not go together, Gligorov concluded, and the Twelve will find it very difficult to present any well-argued facts for their stand.

However, the international recognition of Macedonia is a process that has begun and can no longer be stopped. It can only be slowed down with tactics and calculations, but that will be done to the detriment of peace in this part of the Balkans. Anyhow, this 15 January, that is, the D-Day, has passed, euphoria has abated, recognition by Bulgaria is hardly being mentioned, even less that of the Turkish Republic of Cyprus, and now one makes more reasonable analyses of why Macedonia has not been

recognized after all. One should not forget here that Macedonia favored the Yugoslav crisis being solved at the European peace conference and that until then not one individual republic should take unilateral steps toward secession.

Many local commentators point to the fact that Macedonian diplomacy itself has hampered Macedonia in many ways. At the beginning, it advocated a union of sovereign states and then, in recent months, an independent state. It has done so very shyly, so that nobody would be harmed. Instead of offensively setting for Europe and the world, the diplomacy has let Bulgarians fight for Macedonia's independence and has let Europe ask Macedonia to submit an application form for international recognition. Even this application was filled out unclearly, so the arbitration commission had to intervene and repeat its demand to be able to hear that Macedonia wants to become an internationally recognized subject.

Another aggravating factor for this republic is the continued presence of the Yugoslav People's Army. One wonders what kind of an internationally recognized country that would be with an army on its territory, an army that it does not recognize as its own. Besides, the foreign factor, that is, the countries neighboring Macedonia, has been insufficiently considered, particularly the behavior and stand of neighboring Greece. Is it that Europe is aware of the fact that it would even be dangerous for European peace to recognize Macedonia now when each one of its four neighbors harbors some pretensions to its territory? Therefore, a question is asked here in Skopje of whether the spirits of the past may be revived, something that would turn the peaceful Macedonian region into an arena of armed conflicts, that is, whether it is possible that an intervention, a military provocation, or even a conflict between neighboring countries concerning Macedonia breaks out on the territory of Macedonia under the excuse of protecting the interests of the Macedonia people and in fact defending one's own.

Nobody here doubts that games involving Macedonia are played behind the scenes and that Bulgaria was the first to have interrupted the silence being of the opinion that the presence of the Yugoslav Army here is dangerous both for Macedonia and for Bulgaria.

Bulgaria now appears to be the protector of the new independent Macedonian state. Because of the deployment of Bulgarian troops along the border, the Greeks have immediately reacted by announcing that they will protect the interests of their country by all means.

There is a suspicion here in Skopje concerning the frequent contacts between Athens and Belgrade. Greece continues to persistently speak about the joint Serbian-Greek border.

Albania's behavior will mostly depend on the further course of events. It is believed that there will be no increased saber-rattling at the Macedonian borders, because that would have fatal consequences to peace not only in the Balkans but also beyond.

The fact that interests in and on this small Macedonian territory are rather intertwined is also supported by Bulgaria's recognition of Macedonia, Greece's strong opposition, Turkey's announcement of plans to recognize Macedonia by the end of month, and the same plans pronounced by Italy.

Antagonism between Athens and Greece [as heard] is known. It is also known that relations between Athens and Ankara are not exactly friendly. From this, commentators conclude that from the European point of view, the most painless thing for Europe was not to recognize Macedonia as an independent country in the first round. However, nobody doubts that this recognition will follow within coming days or months. Although in this case one can speak about some certainty for Macedonia, people in the know think that Macedonia's economic independence is going to be neither smooth nor quick.

Macedonia does not have a financial basis like Slovenia or Croatia and is not surrounded by countries that would offer their capital not only for profit, but also for other reasons. Macedonia should rather fear boycott than expect some cooperation, so all that makes its position not only more complex but also more difficult. For this reason, it is trying to urgently charge other republics and the federation for 11 billion dinars that they owe it. It is a special Yugoslav absurdity, it is thought here in Skopje, that the poorest Yugoslav republic is owed money by other, much richer republics.

Two days ago, the Macedonian Government announced that it is only a matter of time before it introduces its own money. The expression, a matter of time, is interpreted as being very soon. The money will be the first significant measure toward achieving the economic sovereignty of Slovenia. The present situation of remaining in the Yugoslav monetary system, they say, is therefore only temporary. The concept of unique monetary policy has been completely elaborated. The concept is being evaluated with a view to seeing both benefits and negative effects. Also being evaluated is the account of how much an independent state will cost its citizens and whether sovereignty also means new taxes and levies. The answer to this question is still lacking. Everything depends, they say, on the numerousness of one's own army, police, and diplomats.

In these different, non-Yugoslav circumstances, Macedonia is now forced to stick to the choice it has made—as it is said here in Skopje—while in different circumstances, one would have first made evaluations and only then decided in favor or against independence. However, even though independence and sovereignty are priceless, a price should nevertheless be paid. How much it will really amount to and whether Macedonia will achieve its international sovereignty in a peaceful way are questions that still need to be answered.

Montenegro

Defense Ministry Denies War With Croatia

LD2101105292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Montenegro is not at war and has no war objectives. The fact that some war units of the SFRY Armed Forces are complimented with reservists from Montenegro and are used outside the republic cannot be taken to mean that Montenegro is at war with Croatia and that it has war objectives. The Montenegrin Ministry for National Defense stresses this in a reply to questions from a group of deputies' asked at the last session of the Montenegrin Assembly.

In connection with the question on what the Montenegrin leadership did to prevent the war, it is said that "it is dutybound to make constant efforts to resolve the crisis peacefully in every way and at all meetings, to lend its full support to efforts made by the armed forces, and, within the context of the resolution of the issue of the wider Prevlaka region, it is already negotiating with the Croatian side about this."

"The federal secretary for national defense ordered the mobilization of the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense war units stationed on the territory of Montenegro in order to compliment, prepare, and use war units on the battlefields in Croatia and to protect the Serbian and other nations from annihilation, to lift the blockade from barracks and other military facilities, and to protect itself from constant attacks by Ustasha-fascist forces," the Montenegrin Ministry for National Defense says in its reply to deputies' questions.

Bulatovic Addresses Parliament on Referendum

LD1801155492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, 18 Jan (TANJUG)— Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidency of Montenegro, has called for the continuation of the conference on Yugoslavia. Speaking today at a session of the republican parliament on the current political situation in the country in light of the latest events, Bulatovic cited as "encouraging facts" the peacekeeping involvement of the United Nations and the cease-fire which is "showing signs of stability," as he put it.

Recalling that one of the basic issues now is the international legal status of Yugoslavia, Bulatovic said that "in supporting the assertion that Yugoslavia no longer exists, the following arguments are used: First, the nonexistence of borders, territories, and effective government of the whole country, and the fact that on the territory of Yugoslavia new, internationally recognized states are emerging; second, the complete deadlock of the federal organs on the existing constitutional system and in effect their illegitimacy; and, third, the international factor which has definitely written off Yugoslavia as a state community in its former form and which sees its future mainly in an alliance of sovereign states". Bulatovic then said that none of these circumstances can be denied, but that it would be premature to conclude that they will automatically lead to the end of Yugoslavia as a subject of international law.

The latest findings of the EC arbitration commission, according to Bulatovic, have reduced a constitutive nation (in Bosnia-Hercegovina) to a minority, and have, in this republic, ceased to apply the principle of the national dismantling of Yugoslavia and turned it into an issue of a citizens' referendum. This could be the fuse for fresh bitter and senseless national conflicts, Momir Bulatovic warned.

Bulatovic stressed that the Yugoslav crisis is reaching its denouement. The possible options are becoming increasingly clear, thus Montenegro's moment of decision should not be put off any longer.

Bulatovic noted that the citizens of Montenegro are going to make such a decision by referendum and explained that if they were to face only the question of whether they favor a sovereign Montenegro, as has been the case in other republics, and is being demanded by some political parties in the republic, then a "yes" reply would still leave open the character and degree of integration with the remaining Yugoslav republics. In Bulatovic's words, their "no" reply to Montenegrin sovereignty might also spell the end of the existence of Montenegrin statehood, and of the Montenegrin people themselves.

This is why, in Bulatovic's view, the best model of decision-making by referendum is the one proposed by the Democratic Party of Socialists Central Committee, the ruling party in Montenegro. According to this model, in the upcoming referendum the citizens of Montenegro should reply by saying "no" or "yes" to the following question: "Do you agree that Montenegro, as a sovereign republic, should continue to exist in a common state on an absolutely equitable basis together with the other Yugoslav republics which want to do this?"

This common state, in Bulatovic's opinion, would set up a uniform system of defense and security and a collective supreme command over the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces' maintenance and development would be placed under the authority of the republics, while keeping in mind their specific features, except in highly specialized branches. In a common state, legislative power would be exercised by a single parliament made up of one chamber, the Chamber of Republics, in line with the parity principle. Protection of human and minority national rights would remain under the sole authority of the republics and would be based on the strictest international norms and standards.

A federal government would also exist. The common state would be represented in the country and abroad by a president of state whose office would rotate among presidents of the republics every six months.

Presenting this model, Momir Bulatovic then said that if the citizens of Montenegro replied positively to the

referendum question then this republic's state organs would gain a mandate obligating them to secure full and absolute equality among the republics in the common state. If, however, the reply were negative, the state organs would also get a mandate charging Montenegro with creating a fully independent, autonomous, and sovereign state and obtaining international recognition.

"Hence, whether this proposal is accepted or rejected, Montenegro will not be called into question. One version envisages that it will continue to exist within the framework of a common state while the other renders Montenegro a sovereign and independent state", Momir Bulatovic said at today's session of the republican parliament on the future referendum in Montenegro.